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NOTES ON SOME TRIBES OF BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA.

By H. S. Stannus, M.B.

[With Plates XXVI, XXVII.]

M Y 131

With reference to what follows, I deal with the inhabitants at the southern end of Lake Nyasa, more especially those near Fort Johnston.

M Y 563

This people is very mixed, the original inhabitants, "Anyanja," belonging to Nyanja stock, one of the many branches of the Bantu, were many times overrun by invading waves from the east, Amangoche, Ajawa (Yao), Machinga, Maraninga, and their territory at this point was also raided from the other side by the Angoni. Though the Machinga may be said to have settled here and be the ruling spirit, the people are more Anyanja than anything else, and their customs, etc., though suffering by being those of a conquered race, yet have survived in great part. These people are often called the Nyasa, only meaning the dwellers near the Lake, but it is a good collective name now.

M Y 128

As far as possible these notes refer to Anyanja and their customs, and added matter and Yao elements have been eliminated; for this reason they will be found to differ in some ways from accounts given by others.

M 147 482 481

Of the average native one may say that his physique is very fair; given regular work and food, conditions such as exist on some of the boats, he develops into a very fine muscular man. A man will carry between fifty and sixty pounds 40 miles in one day, or a number of days in succession covering half that distance per diem. A man could cover 50 to 60 miles in twenty-four hours. He can travel the whole day without food, and would do three or four days' march unloaded without food provided he had water to drink.

M 147 151

Sensibility to pain is undoubtedly less than in the European, *i.e.*, the native can stand pain well if he be not afraid (*e.g.*, removal of sebaceous cyst without anæsthetic, extraction of teeth, etc.), the pain seems sometimes to be deferred, *i.e.*, in cases of tooth extraction appears to be perceptible a minute after the actual operation. An inflammatory condition seems to cause them intense agony, so that I would say they do not feel pain so acutely, but they do not bear it as well as a European.

M 147 157

I would make another contrast, in fighting against disease a native will often go under from sheer apathy, whereas the white man keeps going by his nervous energy. I have seen the reverse in the case of a carrier who went through an

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147 157 acute lobar pneumonia, doing 15 to 20 miles a day simply because he would not be left behind among a strange tribe, though hospital accommodation could be provided for him.

147 151 They do not endure cold well. On visiting a hill station one's carriers will go down to the plain to sleep, if possible; with cold they look miserable and pinched, they behave foolishly and cannot work; with greater cold they lie down to die without much ado. This is due to the fact that the ordinary native has no subcutaneous adipose tissue and he is spare in every way. They can bear the direct rays of the sun in the ordinary way, but in their village life always seek [293] shelter and remain at rest during the mid-day heat. Hats and umbrellas or the coast fashion turban is adopted and appreciated.

147 827 Natives notice that men have an odour; they distinguish between the odours of white and black men, but not between tribes, except that a Yao will say that he knows an Angoni, explaining that it is due to his washing less. A black man smells more when doing work and perspiring. A woman[1] smells more than a man, and a child not at all, as a rule. In these particulars I agree with the native's account, but would add that some natives, though of cleanly habits, certainly smell more than others, and to such a degree that one could not employ them in the house; a meat diet certainly causes an increase and a change in the odour of a native.

[824] [302] *Mlihani*, a shrub, is used to rub over the hands to take away the smell of fish, and gives a scent like camphor.

The smell of human excrement and foul pus is very much disliked. A man on experiencing a disagreeable odour spits.

152 Fear is characterised by dropping of the jaw, eyes wide open, eyebrows partly raised, and a peculiar ashy colour, no doubt due to the paling of the skin; the hand often covers the mouth, and trembling is common.

201 In expectant pleasure the mouth is open, the eyes wide open, with some fulness of the lower lids. Inability to do anything asked is signified by shrugging forwards of the shoulders, the head being rotated by one of the sterno-mastoid muscles, that is, the occiput is rotated to one side and depressed, approximate to the shoulder; the mouth is open, the eyes transitorily closed. Affirmation is expressed by backward inclination or raising of the head and eyebrows, leaving the upper lids in position, causing the eyes thereby to close partly; the mouth is opened with a long expiratory "ecch!" To emphasise that a thing was witnessed by themselves they point to their eyes.

Unwillingness to comply with a demand is expressed by shrugging of one shoulder, usually the left; this is most commonly seen in the women. The head

[833] [1] They say of women that there are three classes: those that emit odour (*a*) before, (*b*) during, (*c*) after sexual intercourse, they possess greater sexual desire in the order *a*, *b*, *c*, the first two being more likely to become prostitutes. Those persons who perspire during coition are said to have no power.

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may be sharply moved to one side and a short grunting sound through the nose with closed mouth is made. 201

Exclamation of denial with indignation is made by raising the eyebrows, opening the mouth, and uttering a high pitched "eh!" Emphasis to a denial is made by a movement of the hand across the throat [you may cut my throat if I lie]. When laughing tears may come into their eyes. [147]

In dealing with expression of the emotions we find that their emotions are not quite parallel with those of white races, their psychology being different; thus astonishment is always associated either with pleasure or fear; open-mouthed pure surprise I have never seen—what might surprise a white man does not have the same effect on the native—it is something new to him and may be extraordinary, but it is caused by some particular "medicine" having been used—such a phenomenon might incite signs of pleasure or fear, or commonly a look of assumed indifference. I have never seen the mouth opened and the hands raised in astonishment. 152 201

Among the natives not in contact with Europeans, if not in all, shame, as we understand it, is not felt—remorse with perhaps a feeling of shame at having deceived so inefficiently may be expressed—giving rise to a sheepish expression. The eyes are cast down, the head bent, a blush may be seen; the mouth is often moved from side to side, the weight of the body is shifted from one foot to the other, and sometimes they paw the ground with their feet.

Disgust and contempt are well expressed, the upper lip slightly turned up, the head thrown back, the corners of the mouth depressed, the eyes partly closed. A disgusting smell excites expiration and spitting. Doggedness is recognised by a fixed expression, mouth tightly closed and upper eye-lids lowered.

With regard to attitudes, movements, etc., one may say of the native that he presents no awkwardness. The gait is neither energetic nor, on the other hand, slouching, but as a rule slow, head erect, body upright, knee slightly bent, the arms swinging by the sides when free, though it is seldom that one sees a native who is not carrying something with one hand or holding his cloth. The palm of the hand is usually directed inwards or backwards, the foot is planted on the ground firmly, the heel but slightly in advance of the rest of the sole of the foot. 481

The toes are commonly turned in, though usually the axis of the foot is directly antero-posterior; outward turning of the foot is rarely seen; on rough ground they retract or extend the toes to some degree to preserve them from injury.

In position of rest they sit with the knees partly drawn up towards the chin or squat sitting on their heels, the feet flat upon the ground; women commonly kneel or, with anything to lean against, sit with limbs extended. 516

In sleep they lie on one or other side, affirming that lying on the back gives rise to dreams. The wife lies facing the back of her husband, a baby lies at the mother's breast. 513

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513 They seem to prefer the head slightly elevated, or rest the head on a wooden head-rest, or on the arms, or they affect a semi-prone position, the forehead resting on the forearm, knees bent. The head is always completely covered with the blanket or cloth.

514 833 In micturition the man usually squats, the woman kneels. In coitus the man is usually above the woman, though sometimes they lie on their sides facing each other.

482 [854] The child is carried astride the back of its mother, held in position by a cloth or skin tied round them both; if carried free the child is usually astride the mother's hip, supported by her arm. A man carries a child sitting on his shoulders. Burdens are carried on the head, supported on a grass pad, sometimes on the shoulder, or in the case of a two-man burden, suspended from a pole carried on the shoulders or, occasionally, on the heads.

They are masters of the art of making up loads, and in the case of a number of articles tie them securely on to a pole to balance over the shoulder. To a single load is usually attached on each side a split bamboo, projecting several feet at one end: this affords a means of holding the load, and also when getting it into place on the head the load may be stood up on the projecting ends, a great convenience. Fowls are carried in an improvised basket made of bark.

147 They have very little direct control over facial muscles, and it is with very great difficulty that they can be made to move the mouth to one side—when opening the mouth wide they generally shut the eyes. I was never able to find a man who could move his ears or scalp voluntarily, nor a man who could close one eye independently of the other. The joints as a rule are supple, and extension of the [516] fingers on the metacarpus is easy—they are able to extend the fingers without opening the hand. The first finger is used in pointing, sometimes the foot or head. The toes are used to pick up objects, but the great toe is not opposable.

579 *Fighting.*—Men fighting between themselves usually wrestle, the man down then receiving a blow on the head with a convenient stick. Two women fighting wrestle and sometimes use their fists. They bite and sometimes scratch, biting arms, face, and breasts. Fighting with a man a woman attempts to seize the penis and testicles, which she will jerk downwards with considerable effect.

ASTRONOMY.

805 Years are counted by "rains" up to three or four years; beyond that it is "some time ago" (= *kale*).

Lunar months are recognised "three moons ago . . ." A man will give the day of the month by pointing to the heavens and indicating the position of the moon at dawn. Pieces of wood threaded on a string are used to indicate the number of days of the month that have passed. The day is reckoned from sunset [211] to sunset. The position of the sun in the heavens is used to give the time of day, and the latter is also reckoned by the length of shadow cast by a stick (= *Nthawe*).

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821
Sunrise and sunset are known to vary in position north and south of the mean [805]
position, which is occupied twice a year. The sun and moon are supposed to make their return journeys through the sky hidden by it and clouds.

The morning star is observed. The Pleiades are recognised and called *Nanguri*; when seen to rise early in the evening the season for hoeing has come. The Milky Way is known as *Koka usiku* (= midnight); it becomes visible about midnight

Shooting stars are supposed to be pieces broken off on collision between two stars. Thunderbolt = stone = *Mvula*. Eclipses of sun and moon have been seen and the sun and moon are then said to have been caught by a snake (= *Njoka*). Clouds are supposed to be smoke. Rain is not explained. All things are said [776]
to have been made by the unknown Power, *Chiuta*, not a man. North and south 823
are named *mpoto*, *muera* respectively, the names of the two tribes bounding the Anyanja people on the north and south. A short distance is expressed by *ankuka kawiri* = "You will not smoke twice"; a longer by "You will not sleep twice," etc. Hot springs = *madziwila*. There is a story that Magomero once erupted, but they have no name for a volcano.

ENUMERATION.

The native counts on his fingers, ticking off the fingers of the left hand, first 802
beginning at the little finger. 5 is the closed fist, thumb inside; 10, hands together. After 10 the toes are used, starting with the little toe of the right foot. To express 15, 10 is shown and then the right foot grasped with right hand. To [211]
reckon numbers above 20, stones, knots in string, notches in wood are used; 2 tens, 3 tens, and so on. The words for higher numbers are borrowed from other languages. [177]

To add, the native counts on his fingers. 5 and 4 = 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 = 9. Subtraction is difficult. Multiplication and division not known.

Before calico was introduced into the country, skins, ivory, and bark for cloth, 435
were used as barter materials. 437

A man slave was worth			50 yards calico.
A woman	„	„	40 „ „
A cow	„	„	15 goats = 15–20 yards calico.
1 spear	„	„	1 fowl.
1 hoe	„	„	1 basket of maize.

Measurements corresponded to the length of nail, hand, foot, arm, from finger- 804
tips to finger-tips (fathom), as in speaking of trees "so many double-arm lengths high." Cloth was measured from tip of middle finger to point of elbow, called a hand's length (= *dzanja*). Area is measured so many hands' lengths each way. Land is never measured; capacity is expressed in basketfuls, various known baskets being used. Beer is measured as "so many pots."

In expressing the height of a man, saying "he is so high," the hand is held upright, the tip of the fingers indicating height. Speaking of an animal the arm is

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804 held horizontally, thumb up. Of inanimate objects, arm and hand parallel to ground, hand prone.

CRIMES, ETC.

Homicide is a criminal offence, whether there was good excuse or not, *i.e.*, 682 whether murder or in self-defence. In the case of a man who has killed another, the uncle is called by the chief and told what payment he will have to make; that paid to the chief is known as "blood-money" (=*chemwasi*)) a cow and a slave are first sent to the chief, then five or eight cows, then a piece of calico, then two yards of calico; these are passed on to the relations and a cow is returned to the chief.

Should the man possess no property he himself, his sister and mother might [567] go as slaves to the deceased's uncle or brother. After compensation is paid, beer is made by the receiver of the "blood-money"; the man who has killed the other and his people are called to drink, and they then agree that the affair is closed and that they will be friends and not bear enmity.

[762] Suicide is an offence. Several chiefs, however, have committed suicide rather than suffer at the hands of white men in the old days. A man maiming another 683 has to pay blood-money to the chief and a cow to the injured man.

684 Rape was punished by drowning by the Lake people; the offender was bound, stones attached to him, and he was thrown into the lake.

A man inducing a woman to run away with him would go with her to another village, and if afraid of being taken back, they would go and break a pot over a [567] grave and by that token become the slaves of the headman's brother.

A man seducing a virgin would have to pay the equivalent of £2, unless he marry her immediately.

[688] Assault is compensated on a sliding scale, so long as blood is not shed the chief does not receive "blood-money."

Adultery was punished by drowning and shooting; if the wife of a chief was the culprit, the guilty pair were tied together *in coitu* and then thrown into the river, or a piece of bamboo might be put up urethra and vagina of man and woman respectively, the two bound together and left in the village open space to die. In other cases ears were cut off, testicles excised. Unnatural offences are unknown.

685 For arson the damages vary according to the damage; for theft cutting off of hands or ears was practised.

All cases were heard by chiefs and headmen. The headmen sit in a circle in 695 the open space (*bwalo*) of the village, usually under the shelter of a big tree. In some cases the chief hears the case, if it be one involving a headman. Ordinarily he remains in his house and the evidence is repeated to him and settlement made. The man bringing a charge salutes by clapping his hands, and sitting down makes his case; the accused then speaks, and witnesses on either side are then called. The accused is nearly always present. There is hardly any torture applied. In cases where they wanted a man to own to being *mphôti*, two sticks were applied to the sides of the head and two strings uniting them tightened. In such a

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case *mwavi* might be administered; if adjudged guilty the accused would be burned on a pile of wood. M 695

Evidence is given without taking any oath; a false witness is not punished. M 696

Justice is occasionally summary. At Mponda's, after conviction of adultery with one of the chief's wives, a man's throat was cut on the spot. Drowning was the usual punishment with Mponda.

Punishments for all offences practically meant payment.

CUSTOMS, SALUTATIONS, ETC.

The correct salutation among Machinga Yao and Mataŋja on meeting is clapping the hands, the hands in front of and at right angles to the body parallel to each other, thumbs against the fingers. The clapping should be continued for ten minutes after having passed; after passing a chief it should be continued for half-an-hour. M Y 576

Another form consists in slowly beating the breast with the right hand, the head slightly inclined forward. The lower in station makes salutation first to the higher, a man to a chief, a woman to a man; exception is made in the case of an old woman, who is saluted by the man. Scattered all over the country a raising of one or both arms is a common form of salutation, but is probably only a corruption of the military salute. M Y [554] [888]

Slapping of the nates or thigh with the right hand is also seen, among old men usually. In imploring mercy from, or on the first occasion of meeting, the chief, a man lies prone on the ground and catching the foot of the chief, puts it on his neck—a sign of absolute submission. Women kneel at the approach of a man. Words and expressions of salutation are few—*Mapo* (=heart) being the only old expression used. Now commonly one hears a word (sounding like *mŏni*) probably a corruption of good morning, and the Swahili greeting *Sulukri* with the double hand-shake of Mohammedans. M Y [201] [562] [177]

A man returned to his village after an absence rests awhile, then his wife comes to him and kneeling greets him, *mapo*, her husband returning *mapo*.

Years ago, a man of any importance was received with firing of guns and shouting. A headman is received now with *Mwapulale*, the women wobbling their tongues in their mouths. Ashes are put on the head as a sign of joy. M Y [152]

In the morning the husband and wife do not greet each other, but in the village friends "give each other good morning" (=*Mapo*). On waking in the morning, a woman cracks all her joints (=*Kulisa chala*). She then massages her husband and cracks the joints of his fingers. M Y [571] [576]

One man wishing to see another goes to his house, and squatting outside the door cries "*Iche!*" three times (=there), at the same time clapping his hands. If no answer be given he goes away, even though he knows the man is within, no answer meaning that the inmate does not wish to be seen. If invited to enter he does so, the man of the house rises and gives him salutation. He makes small M 574 576

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574 576 talk for a little, and then sitting asks his visitor to be seated. *Natesele* (=remain seated, I must go) he says when rising to go; the man of the house rises and says *Napite!* (=you may go). If a man wishes to speak to a woman, the woman comes outside her hut.

264 Men and women never take their food together, a husband never sits and talks with his wife, the sexes congregate separately. A man taking his food in his hut is looked upon as greedy. Outside he invites anyone near to share with him.

513 Husband and wife sleep on the same bed, the former retiring first and lying on his left side, the woman lying on same side faces her husband's back. Old people sleep on separate mats, not together.

888 737 The wife or daughter looks after the old man past work, an old woman is cared for by her daughters and sons. Old people used to be put in small grass huts on the outskirts of the village, and allowed to starve. Old men are more or less respected and consulted by the younger.

264 574 178 A man about to take food invites anyone with him, relations or friends, to partake of it. In old days a friend visiting would be given the host's own house and the wife instructed to cook for him and look after his wants, no fear of any advantage being taken of the woman was entertained; now a separate cubicle in the same house is assigned to the visitor.

574 It is customary to remain one or two days on a visit. A stranger of the same tribe on arriving in a village goes to the headman and tells him his errand. He is then given over to a *sapilde*, who finds him a house and food.

514 In going to defaecate old people go half-a-mile away from the village. A man catching sight of a chief at stool will run away lest any harm come to himself. A man must not defaecate or micturate near any woman, such would be very bad manners. In front of men it does not matter. Two women may do so in each other's presence.

515 Husband and wife never bathe together—in the house the wife may wash the husband, but if she would wash herself her husband leaves the house.

578 831 [273] 195 Coarse language in front of women and children is disapproved, but is more common now than formerly. In the same way there is greater license between the sexes. Drunkenness was always allowable among men, but now women and even children are permitted to indulge in excess. Certain words as they get vulgarised are considered bad form and others substituted, thus:—*Ku-pompa Chipalalo* (=adultery), is replaced by *Ku-fudza*; *Ku-Kodza* (=to make water) by *Ku-tinilwa*; and *ku-tira masuwa Ku-wa* (=to defaecate) by *Kupatuka* or *Kupoluka* (of a child); *machendi* (*pudenda*) by *masu*.

DISEASE, ETC.

753 As regards disease there is of course a very great difference in the point of view taken by a native and that taken by a European medical man. The native recognises a number of objective illnesses and has names for them—for a number

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of subjective illnesses he has names, generally taken from the most prominent symptom. Thus in many cases he gives the same name to illnesses resulting from different causes in which some prominent symptom is common to both. In many cases, and in all which are fatal (excepting death from actual visible injury), the illness is ascribed to the workings of some person—he having compassed the death of his victim either by making medicine against him or actual administration of some noxious drug with the idea of eating the dead body, the evildoer being possessed or *ngakili* (q.v.)

Some special illnesses call for comment :—

Mwale (Scott's *Dictionary*)=rash breaking out in children. If a child sickens an old medicine woman is consulted. She asks to examine the mother—the vulva is examined and *Cavernula septiformis* sought (=*mwale*); these are said to be the cause of the illness in the child, and are therefore removed by the medicine woman with a sharp knife. If the child does not recover, the father goes to the medicine woman, who directs him to be examined by some man, who reports to the old woman whether *mwale* are present or not [they are found round the base of *cervus* under prepuce]; these if present (*papillomata*) are removed by the man appointed—if none be present the medicine woman examines the man's mouth and the two papillæ under the tongue are accused of the trouble, and therefore removed by the old woman. These proceedings are called "going to *mwale*." One of the essential symptoms of *mwale* disease, I was told, is that the child becomes very pale.

Pamyo.—The disease from which a husband will die who eats food which his wife has seasoned and cooked if she has committed adultery before the making of medicine after the death of their child. This resembles *Ndeke*. The father and grandfathers, after the death of a child, may not sleep with their respective wives until after medicine has been made and administered to them and all the other children.

Kuku mawondwe.—Characterized by hæmaturia, with pain in back and over bladder, immediately after coitus with a woman who is menstruating. Men are said to have died from the affection—medicine usually produces a tardy cure.

Ndeke.—Suppose a man without a wife go to any house and take food (porridge) in which salt has been put by the woman preparing it; he may fall sick with *Ndeke*, symptoms being swelling of legs and sometimes of face. This is often fatal unless treated by the medicine man. Should a man pass close to a refuse-heap in which a fœtus (miscarriage or still-born child) has been buried, he may contract the same illness.

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753 *Inye.*—Name given to a disease for which there is no medicine. Such diseases may get better, but should the person have sexual intercourse they will reappear; the cure is said to drop off.

Probably includes tertiary syphilitic lesions, tuberculous and malignant affections.

Kwipa.—Ulcers on arms. A man whom I saw said to be suffering from *kwipa* had syphilis, his wife a little later had ulceration of labium, and was said to be sickening for *kwipa* caught from her husband.

Chipoto.—Diseases of external sexual organs.

- *cha mwasi-w-chimwera-w-tiamna* due to coition with a menstruating woman.
- *cha mafinga-w-chindoko*—gonorrhœa.
- *cha kuzi*—in micturition a man is said to pass a lot of fine threads before the water appears, afterwards they go in again.
- *cha chimo-w*(white ant).
- *cha chapulo*
- *cha kuchoko*—includes the last three above.

A man going away for some time and leaving his wife may put medicine at the door of the hut; the wife walking over it is said to have it rise up into her, so that should anyone commit adultery with her he will get *chipoto*.

[727] *Chidima.*—Blindness. Result of not washing the face in the blood of a man slain in warfare after cutting out his heart.

[736] [821] It is said in Central Angoniland that if the wind blow from the west for seven days then smallpox will come. There seems to be something in this, for such a wind would come over Portuguese territory, where variola is endemic.

Hydrocele, said to be caused by having connection with a woman two or three days after menstruation. *Mwera* (=south) was the name given on account of the belief that men so affected were made worse by going out in a south wind. The ear is said to contain frogs. If a boy makes a noise by knocking two crossed sticks together a man with hydrocele will tell him to stop as the noise resembles a frog's croaking and causes the frogs in the ear to move about.

[825]

Treatment of Disease.—Many illnesses among children are treated as follows:—

757 A decoction is made by boiling the leaves of five or six trees in a pot of water, the child is held over this, and the child and pot covered with a cloth; it is in fact a form of medicated vapour bath. This is not repeated, but if the child has not recovered by the following day it is washed in a mild decoction made from leaves and roots; this may be continued for several days. These medicines are all prepared by the medicine women, and if they are returned to her another woman is consulted. On the first day of treatment remuneration is at the rate of two

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strings of beads; when the medicine woman is consulted and asked for medicine she demands beads that she may see clearly where the medicine grew—should no beads be forthcoming the woman may make pretence of finding herbs, but say they hide themselves; the applicant will then come back with beads, when she will immediately see medicines plainly; no further payment is made till the child is well, when the old woman eats medicine at cross roads, the child's head is shaved and half a small basket of meelies is given as payment. 757

Methods of treatment may be divided into three groups:—

1. By administration of drugs internally.
2. By local application of drugs, combustion smoke.
3. Medicine charms.

The giving of drugs by the mouth is but slightly used, certainly a number of astringent barks, etc., are given in diarrhœal diseases, but how far with good effect I am unable to say. Emetics are known, but not commonly used. Purges apparently are not known, as they are drugs much appreciated by the native.

Aphrodisiacs are always in great request to rejuvenate the flagging energies of the twelve-stone manhood of adult age. Three are three commonly used: (*a*) *ndeme* bark, (*b*) *Mbalamanda* root, (*c*) *Mbala* root; one tablespoonful of the powdered bark of the first named taken in beer produces its effect in half an hour, producing an erection at the sight of the first woman seen, the number of orgasms possible in a night is increased from 1-2 to 3-5. If taken by a woman she becomes sterile. Coitus by use of drugs is reduced from 1-30 minutes to 2 minutes. Some taken by a friend of my own (a European) caused only increased vigour and rapidity of heart action. Medicine to bring on erection unnecessary is used, and an abortifacient is said to be known and of rare action. 278 [832] [841] [847]

Medicines.—*Pfumbakhwe* made of red earth and castor oil, and applied to an infant's fontanelle is a protection against the evil. Also used by a widowed husband before he may marry again. 278

Bleeding is stopped by sprinkling the strongly astringent powdered bark of the *mtondo* tree or leaves of the *chitimbi* tree; the bark of the *mfungati* tree is used on wounds. 278 752

A ligature is applied above the bite of a small snake, *nyhiri*; the limb is said to drop off below the ligature. Sucking of wounds is adopted. Lime is sometimes put on fresh wounds. Sores are treated with ground-nut oil. The smoke of burning horns is employed to relieve a cough. Dry cupping by means of small gourds, horns, etc., is practised. [757]

A certain degree of *precocity* is apparent at least in young boys, and is noticeably lost when they arrive at the age of puberty, when sexual excess seems to reduce them to a state of, in many cases, semi-imbecility. From this they may recover, or on the other hand they may remain certainly not so bright as when they were boys. 145 [836]

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao FT7 Maraw FR4

Y 304 M [304] Circumcision was not practised among *Anyanja*. Among *Amangoche*, *Mankinga* and *Yao*, the practice was known as *Jando* or *Ingondo*.

Ku-ombola Ingondo:—the prepuce was drawn forward and a stick made on the right side of the median line near the frenum. An application mixed with oil was applied. At the present time the *Mahammedan* practice is common. *Ku-ombola Jando*:—the prepuce is drawn forward through a split piece of bamboo and cut off with a sharp knife.

Circumcision is performed on boys usually at the age of nine to twelve years by a medicine man called *Mganga*, an honourable calling, in a hut at the *Inyago* camp. Both patient and operator stand, unless the former is young, when he sits. The ceremony is witnessed only by the boy's friend. Among *Mahammedans* circumcision used to be performed by a woman operator (*mdungu*), but, it is said, was discontinued, on account of the heavy mortality, about seven years ago. At the time of the operation a woman was given medicine to make her vomit all unlawful things she might have eaten.

Y 304 98 Initiation ceremonies (including circumcision) take place at irregular intervals. The chief or headmen settles the date at which the *Inyago* shall be held, generally some a year in July, when there is no work and little else to do. Boys who are considered ready will then take part. The elder brother or a friend of a boy settles whether he is ready for circumcision. The mother then takes a present to the chief. The boys, their friends and the medicine men then depart for the bush, sometimes a couple of miles away from the village. The number may vary from three or four to as many as thirty or forty. In the bush grass huts (= *mumi*) are erected for their shelter. Food is brought by the mothers and deposited a little way from the camp, and the friends who have accompanied the boys fetch and carry and act as sentinels to prevent approach of any "outsiders." Six months used to be spent in the bush, now four to eight weeks only, and all the circumcision wounds must be healed by the time of the candidates' return. If a boy die, the mother is not informed, she is allowed to bring food each day; at the end when the return is made enquiring she is told by one of the men.

Y [147] The exit from the village is accompanied by the friends dancing *Vimbi* or *Mkwere*, the boys in old rollers (formerly always in bark cloth) walk and sit down on arrival at the place appointed. The circumcision is performed the following day; during the time which follows instruction is given them on their duties in after life as men, in good behaviour in their married life, re rollers, eating of food, superstitions regarding salt, etc. When this is all over a message is sent to the village, and the youths, walking quietly dressed in new cloths, are met half-way by Y 55 the women and girls, who dance and sing; after the return to the village there is 98 drinking and dancing, the newly initiated refraining for one day. At the present [154] time the youth probably has some "friend" of the opposite sex with whom he sleeps; until he has had rollers he may not eat food into which salt has been put. His

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1918 FT7 Yao FT7
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mother is very careful about this in preparing his food lest he die in consequence. He henceforth bears his mother's name, and it is an insult to use his child's name again.

Initiation of girls takes place in much the same way, instruction being given by the old women. After initiation most girls wear a string of big blue beads round the neck. In some cases, where it is not convenient to go far into the bush, a patch of bush near the village may be selected, the approaches are carefully guarded, and pieces of calico on bamboos are used as flags to mark the place.

Nawondi ceremony witnessed at Kasanka's village (Awisa tribe) August 30th, 1907:—A girl about fourteen years of age, well developed. Among the Awisa the initiation ceremony takes place when the girl has reached puberty and is ready to be married. Four days are spent by the candidate in a small grass hut built in the middle of the *lumbo* (= village open space), when instruction is given her in all her future duties by a woman who is her "friend," in this case a woman of about twenty-six years of age.

About mid-day of the fourth day she was brought into the *lumbo* wearing old calico round the waist, and with two friends, one on either side, danced a kind of shuffling step backwards and forwards to the time of four drums; it was witnessed by the women of the village, who occasionally joined in the dance. After this she retired, and later in the afternoon reappeared with blue calico from waist as far as knees, white calico tied round waist as a sash, a rope of blue beads round neck and under arms. On the head she wore an erection made of flour and water with a

FIG. 1.

central crest into which were stuck little pieces of reed, lines of red were painted on the white ground as shown in sketch. Always supported by her "friend" or "sponsor," she again danced for a few minutes and then departed.

This night about twelve midnight *Ningwa* was to be danced; all the evening and up till midnight a boy went round and round the village calling in a shrill voice warning none to approach. It was a very dark moonless night, and to the beating of seven drums (four small, two medium sized, one big) the *Ningwa* came into the *lumbo*. One was an elephant 8 feet high with a man in each pair of legs—made of grass, trunk and tusks complete; the other, called an *Nsamba* (a small antelope) resembled a dwarf jack-in-the-green more than anything else. The elephant pranced, the *Nsamba* spun round and round; each was attended by a man with a

4 Brasseur D-5 (ca. 1905)1910 PTT Tao Bamba 905

[528] cattle who was in front of it, and by whom the *Mugwe* made appearance of being baffled. The performance was witnessed by a circle of women and a few men. When the moon gave evidence of rising the figures disappeared.

The following morning the girl was again brought to the bush about 11 a.m. [527] and seated on a mat between her "friend" and her mother, while the women [526] danced to the time of seven drums. Her head was anointed with water and shaved, the process was started by a woman and then finished by a man, apparently the village barber; the left side of the head was shaved first. The mother was shaved by a woman at the same time.

While this was going on, presents were being made—maize, beads, a chicken, [525] tobacco, bracelets, etc. When the shaving was finished several women came and spoke to the girl, after which she was taken away for the bathing in the lake close at hand, returning about 1 p.m. In new blue calico from waist to knees with white sash, the body well oiled all over, to the time of one small drum played by an old man; then, supported on either side by two "friends," she waited a few moments [524] while several women did a few shuffling steps, she then advanced alone and did a [523] few steps. She then made a present of a chicken and tobacco to the drummer, and then to her father, kneeling to each. Again she danced alone, running to and fro

[522]

FIG. 6.

and spinning round quickly. During this time two males, the *Sheukuwa* and *Shikisho* (Fig. 7), appeared and mixed with crowd, danced about and made funny speeches; they went up to the girl and performed a kind of *danse du ventre*.

After these dancing in the village she goes round to the houses of all her relations, beginning at her father's house, and repeats the dance together with addition of a little *danse du ventre*, the males (*Sheukuwa* and *Shikisho*) go round with her, her immediate attendant being always her "friend." This night and the next day she spends in the house with her friend, the evening of the next day she goes to a [521] separate house arranged for, and has to have coitus with a man who is asked to oblige; no ejaculation taking place he has to withdraw in time, and the semen is collected on a cloth which has to be seen by the women. The following night she [520] goes to the house of her betrothed to live with him; she has probably been betrothed since she was an infant.

About the *Sheukuwa* and *Shikisho* I could learn nothing. These men were [519] masks with rattles covering the back of the head and neck, a kilt made of strips of leopard skin and green kneed round their arms and legs.

4: Stanner D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FTT Tao Marett P&H

Morals.

The teaching of morals, of what constitutes right and wrong, is one of the chief features of the initiation ceremonies. A man must be brave in warfare; without fear rush into the middle of the battle. He must be just in hearing cases brought before him to settle. He must keep his wife in subjection (a man who is unable to beat his wife is looked down upon as a coward, as is also a man who would beat a child). Elders are always respected. Sexual power is not as much admired as one might expect. The only vice observed is apparently eating of that flesh of the dead (*Mphiti*). *Adultery* was the fault most severely punished in the olden days. *Any* crime was judged to have its equivalent in payment and was not condemned as bad in itself.

At the present time a man may make money by his daughter's vice, but society does not cast him out, though he is considered "a bad man."

Stealing from other tribes was of course approved; wives and slaves may be beaten, not children. A man visiting another village, if known, would be received as a brother; if unknown, he ran the risk of being there and then murdered, even though of the same tribe.

Food is always shared by any acquaintance.

Lying is not considered wrong in itself, but the breaking of solemn oaths is condemned. Gluttony and over-drinking is not condemned. Neglect of the aged is common and hardly noticed.

General courtesy is insisted, and many things are not considered "good manners." It is considered bad manners to touch the fire in another's house, also to take food from a basket which a woman is carrying on her head, or to uncover food she is carrying, or to uncover a cooking pot; it is said to be as great an insult to her as if her cloth were pulled off. If any of these things be done she would intimate that the offender has never been brought up, and ask him some question relative to instruction received at his initiation; should, he be unable to answer he would be labelled a fool and ridiculed. Yawning, spitting, belching, etc., in company or in the presence of a superior, of a woman in front of her husband, of a man in front of his chief, is ill-mannered. Should a man in an assembly of headmen break wind a small boy will say he did it and receive a reward here.

Religion.

With regard to "soul" the original idea apparently was that all men at death yielded up their spirits, *mizimu* (p. 414, Scott's *Dictionary*), to the place whence they came, *Mlungu*. *Mlungu* seems rather to mean the spirit world, as it is never endowed with any form—of man, for instance; and it is quite impossible for the natives to have conceived an abstract Godhead. The word *mlungu* has latterly been used as a translation of the word God, used by various Christian denominations.

The *mizimu* is not tangible, and has no substance, but has the form of the man, and when out free from the body can talk and can do practically anything. The

4: Stanner D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Tan Marav. F24

774 ...ouious may leave the body of a man asleep and appear as a dream to some other man, just as the spirit of a dead man may appear in a dream; spirits are not visible under other conditions.

774 775 The spirit is said to leave the body of a dying man before death at the time when he becomes unconscious or comatose. His shadow, which is part of the ouious, leaves the body at the same time. The ouious may appear to men at some distance away at the time of death of a man. The inanimate objects appearing in a dream are seen by the dreamer's ouious, who is elevated among the objects seen.

774 The lower animals are said to have spirits, but these cease to exist with the death of the animal; a native will talk to a dog and believe it to understand him just as a white man.

769 774 I have once heard of a case in which a much beloved dog was buried with its master, but I was informed that its soul would not accompany that of the dead man, although the act would seem rather to contradict this.

[825] To the dog is ascribed intelligence, and of the baboon they say that "it 'knows' a great deal."

Plants and inanimate objects are not considered to possess ouious. The pigeons, etc., buried with the dead of course were for food; in the case of slaves buried they would accompany and attend to their master.

775 The spirits of the departed retain their former stations, thus the ouious of a chief is a thing of greater account than that of an ordinary man. It is thought to continue to hold a directing influence on the well-being of the tribe. Before setting out to battle, before moving the village, and so on, offerings of beer and flour will be put on his grave and his intercession asked in respect of the coming event. The appearance of the spirit of some departed person generally means that it considers itself forgotten, and is the sign for putting flour on his grave "to keep him quiet."

The spirit of a murdered man may sometimes haunt the murderer, for this he takes medicine, but the ouious is a good spirit and does no harm. The ouious may visit anyone in his dreams; they often haunt burial grounds, they never enter into the bodies of others, and there is no transmigration to animals (see *Mphiti*).

The ouious may visit the earth at any time, but their general residence is *Mlungu*, a phantasmal place above the sky. The ouious when it leaves the dying body goes upwards. The only people to visit *Mlungu* and come back are occasionally children who die, for a short time their ouious goes to *Mlungu* and returns; they live again, but are dead ouious.

There is no underworld, but a "bad man" is thought not to go to quite the same place as others; there is no idea of punishment or hell fire, however. The spirits in the spirit world are supposed to sit about doing nothing; they talk and see everything going on on the earth below. From what I.m have said before it seems that they suppose chiefs will remain chiefs in the spirit world. They do not appear to speculate about going to the spirit world, and as they do not think of any retribution to be dealt out it makes no difference to their conduct on this earth.

4: Stanmus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao Maravi FR4

Evil spirits, named *mzimba*, are said also to exist. "They are like *mizimu*, only come to do evil and can be seen in the day-time." Such spirits may possess a man and cause madness, *mizimu*; a man so possessed can be cured by drinking and washing in medicine. Again *mzimba* may live in any big animal, but not in inanimate objects. Charms are worn against *mzimba*, a custom taken by Mataenja from the Machinga. A case of insanity due to *mzimba* after death yields up *mizimu*, not *mzimba*.

There is really nothing in the nature of exorcism, spiritualistic séances, or mediums, neither fetishes nor idols. There is no nature worship and no nature spirits, save perhaps in a few cases, *Mpambo* (Chinyanja) or *Chisolo* (Chipeta), the lizard-crocodile, who lives above (*Mlengo*) behind the clouds coming forth as lightning trying to kill men, making a noise (thunder) as he retreats again. In the absence thus of any definite religion there are of course no temples, priests, religious festivals, etc.

At Zambo, in Monkey Bay, Lake Nyasa, there is a rock with a cave in it where it is stated certain evil spirits (*mzimba*) dwell; these come out with their children walking on the water to any passing canoe, and if gifts are not made to them the canoe is upset.

On the hills near Kachindamoto, on the north-west arm of Lake Nyasa, there is said to be a big flat stone on which are the footprints of man and all the animals which emerged from a hole in the stone. This is a story believed by the Chipeta and Mataenja.

Mlilo is a name giving to a path (? hypothetical) which is used by spirits, and which never crosses a river. It runs from Chirumo *viâ* Mlanje, Zomba, Chikala Mangoche, Kwizimba, Mwanza, round the north end of the Lake, keeping on the highlands back through Angoniland to Chirumo.

Mphiti.—If a man die, a relation commonly is accused of causing the death. Recourse is had secretly by the brother of the deceased to the *Walondola* or *Mwatewanda*, who by means of the ole answers questions put to him. He then tells the deceased's uncle, who calls in all the relations and informs them of the death having taken place, and from the chief asks that the accused may drink *mwavi*; this is done unknown to the accused man. Next morning, all the relations are called upon to drink *mwavi* by order of the chief, prepared by the medicine-man (*Mwapemdeke*)—or it may be given to the accused only, he asking to be cleared.

The man who cannot vomit up the ordeal poison dies within half-an-hour, thereby confirming his guilt and showing that he was *mphiti*.

Some *mphiti* are not flesh-eaters, but the majority kill their victims that they may eat human flesh. The sinyer, on the same day that his victim is buried, beats his little drum and lights a fire about thirty to forty yards from the grave at night that his brother *mphiti* may hear and see. It is said these cannot be seen or heard by ordinary men—but sometimes the natives say they have seen the fires of the *mphiti* at night.

4: Stanmus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao Maravi FR4

The *mpháti* may be men, women, or children—fifty to sixty will congregate over the grave and call the dead man by his child-name; the body comes out of the grave, sometimes they dig, sometimes not—the raised man comes to life when he comes to the surface and looks round, but cannot talk. He is killed by being beaten with the tail of the *Zindi* (black-tailed gnu) filled with medicine—the flesh is divided up, filling as many as one hundred baskets, the man who killed having the first to eat, the others any part. The bones are kept[1] sometimes. The grave is opened up and nothing left there. The *mpháti* are said often to take the form of animals, most commonly the hyæna.

WITCHCRAFT, ETC.

Mpháti.—A man wishing to cause the death of another, if a relation, will find a medicine-man and get him to make medicine which is placed under the door of the hut of the man whom it is wished to kill, or it may be that he simply states that the death of so and so is looked for, making certain signs. A man who is not a relation will be asked to come and drink beer, and in the beer which is given to drink is put medicine such as cannot be detected. The man may suspect that he has been poisoned and consult another medicine-man to give him an emetic, and I have heard it stated that men have been known then to vomit needles and pins which have grown out of the medicine. Finely-powdered glass, I believe, used to be given.

Cursing and evil-wishing are found in the expressions:—

Utwafa=may you die.
Ikulume njoka= may a snake bite you.
Utwgwira nkango=may a lion seize you.
Upwene ingdye=may you be eaten by a crocodile; may you drown; may you have nowhere to sleep.
Kafele kutali=go and die presently, etc.

They are believed in to a certain extent, and in some cases a man thus cursed will starve himself to death.

The hair, or the nail of the little finger, is cut while a man is asleep—this is fried with medicine—the victim is then invited to drink beer, the medicine-man pretends to drink and drops a little of the prepared medicine into the cup: the other then drinks and dies in two or three days.

Ku-lodza=to make medicine against a man, the medicine being kept by the maker. On the other hand, medicine may be placed at the victim's doorway, or it may be buried under a path along which he must pass—here it will have a selective action for the intended victim only, who dies soon after he has passed over it. Other magic medicine is that used by a thief, he presses on the ground outside the hut with the tail of the *Zindi* (black-tailed gnu) causing every one within to sleep; then

[1] Such a bone filled with medicine is used to perform tricks, and I was told by a native that he had seen a hut and its contents burnt, and came back in the hour complete—this was a trick.

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao
Maravi FR4

the door is marked with medicine and it becomes unfastened; the occupants can then be asked by the thief where things are, they answer the questions in their sleep and never resist. My interpreter, one of a party of ten men sleeping in a hut, was thus robbed together with the others, not a stitch of clothing being left on them, and the door found open [754]

In a case heard at Fort Johnston 23.11.07, a native was indicted with having threatened death to another man, whose wife he wanted to marry. He was said to have stated that he should take one of his medicines which would turn him into a lion, and as such he would kill his victim. His medicines consisted of *Chiwalula*, a name given to any poison, made from pounded fruits and roots and kept in an iron phial, to kill people with; *Mwago* or *Luzemba*, a name given to medicine which is also kept in a small horn[1]—this is the house-breaker's medicine, which when pressed against the victim's door causes him to become unconscious of anyone entering. This same man was stated to have given a man medicine for his wife one day who was sick—the following day she vomited a needle; the needle was preserved in a piece of grass stalk, and should the man wish his wife any ill he had only to place the stalk with the enclosed needle at the doorway of the hut and when she stepped over it the needle would once more enter her body and might kill her. To another man he had given instructions to shake a small cut on the nates with a razor, and rub in some medicine whereby he would become a lion, or if a cut were made perpendicularly on the forehead, others on the neck and nates and medicine rubbed in, the man would thereby gain a knowledge of medicine and be able to kill people.

Ula.—The *ula* man or *mwatu wa ula* is called on to cast lots in a great variety of circumstances—to find a murderer, to say whether such and such a journey will be good. His outfit may consist of the following:— [787] [791]

Tupa or *ndumba*, a gourd, to which usually strings of beads and pieces of skin are attached; in it are contained the *mawali* or *mpingiri*, which consist of a great variety of articles such as short pieces of wood, some of them charred, the dried curled tendrils of some climbing plant, the body of a certain beetle, pieces of pottery, the tooth of a pig, etc. In casting lots, some one or more articles are made to jump from the gourd which has been shaken in the left hand, the right agitating the while a rattle (*mwanji*). (Plate XXVII, Fig. 4.)

In the case of a man losing a brother and supposing him dead at someone's hands, he goes to the *ula* man, who asks him what he can do for him. The man first of all states a number of things he does not want to know about, such as "Someone has stolen my cattle," etc., each time the *Tupa* is shaken and the *mawali* regarded, each time the *ula* man replying, "No, that is not what you have come about; but what is the matter is that your brother has been killed," and this he confirms by looking at the *mawali*. The man may ask why he was killed, the *ula* man

[1] Medicine made by extracting the fat from faeces by boiling in water mixed with charcoal and other substances preserved in the tail of a cow.

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao
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787 suggesting that it was due to a quarrel some years before, and again consulting the *ula*, tells the man to go back to his village to see the man with whom the quarrel was.

He goes back and makes out his case as we have seen. A case I remember, in which a man accused of theft went to a native of my acquaintance, who gave him one medicine to bathe in, another to put under his tongue, and another to put between the great and second toes, this to make his accuser "speak little"; then by night he went to the *ula* man, asking him to cast lots to say whether he would be put in prison the following morning by the magistrate on the station.

A man wanting a good job will consult an *ula* man who possesses *mpasi*, a [788] medicine made of charcoal and oil. He is put on either side of the chest and the medicine rubbed in—other medicine is wrapped in paper and cloth and worn round the neck=(*Njerwa*); a woman would have two small cuts made above the pubis and two others in the small of the back, and the *njerwa* would be worn round the loins.

The *ula* man also has a tortoise suspended between two cross sticks—this is made to move along the ground by holding the two sticks; if the tortoise moves straight it is a good sign, *i.e.*, a journey would be well undertaken, or such and such a man would not have to go to prison. (Plate XXVI, Fig. 4.).

Two other forms of apparatus are used to answer yes or no, these consist of a gourd or small horn strung on a piece of string; the string is held vertically between the hand and foot, the gourd or horn brought to the top and allowed to slide down the string; if the fall be uninterrupted, all is well. By pulling the string taut the fall can be checked at any point, thus the result of the test depends entirely upon the operator. (Plate XXVII, Fig. 3.)

Galagala.—The dried and partly mummified body of a squirrel containing the skull is also used as a sign. It is held by the tail and stroked downwards with the words "Speak, oh squirrel!" "Speak, oh squirrel!" It is then spat upon: if it fall to the left, it is negative; if to the right, a positive sign such and such a thing will happen. (Plate XXVI, Fig. 9.)

791 The *ula* man does not belong to any set or caste apart, but may be anyone, and may have any other occupation—he may have some knowledge of drugs, herbs, etc. The remuneration for advice given is a string of beads (about 1 foot long) or a fowl. He is commonly thought well of, and in consequence of his calling never comes to a bad end.

[789] Magic=sleight of hand, *Tsinga*, is only practised by coast men. Casting lots to ascertain guilt is also called *Tsinga*. A man practising such things is called *Wa-tsinga*.

Trials by Ordeal.

695 *a. Mwavi.*

b. Unke.—The unke man (*mundu wa unke*) puts a pin through the lobe of the ear of the man accused of stealing. Should blood appear and the man evince signs of pain he is guilty, and *vice versâ*.

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao
Maravi FR4

c. *Boiling water.*—In cases of theft used to be used. 695

d. *Kabrundula.*—In a case where a man accuses another of eating human flesh or sometimes simply of stealing. *Kabrundula* is called with his big horn (eland) filled with medicine; this horn is then given to anyone who holds it by the small end, the other end resting on the ground. It then starts to travel without being pushed to the place where the flesh or other goods are hidden, thus confirming the guilt of the accused.

Mwavi ordeal.—(Among Nyanja.) The start is made early in the morning; the medicine-man, who has come to the village the night before, is ready with his little wooden mortar into which he chips the bark. A man and woman to stand by the mortar are picked out by the chief or headman, the men and women stand in line, a woman behind each man. If a chip flies out during the pounding towards the woman, women will die, and the converse.

Often the medicine-man himself pounds; he then sends two, three, or four people to fetch water which is poured into the mortar, then after walking round the crowd he dips out a small cup half-full, and gives to the man and the woman next him, who say, "*If we are sphuti* let this kill us; if not, may we vomit before the sun gets hot" (8 a.m.).

Then all drink, starting with the headman; each man drinks with a woman, generally man and wife. After they have drunk they sit down. Those who are going to vomit kneel up with their hands on the ground in front—those who are going to die, sit still and do not talk. They throw their heads from side to side, and fall backward with convulsions. There is no beating of drums and no special dress worn. Death takes place in 5 to 15 minutes—nothing is said by the medicine-man, who looks on, or else goes away immediately. Those dead of *mwavi* are dragged outside the village and burnt together with any of their medicines. The medicine-man is paid with calico taken off the dead.

SUPERSTITIONS, ETC.

If a man sleep with a menstruating woman, or should menstruation start during the coitus, he will fall sick and die if no medicine is taken. A menstruating woman may not put salt into the food she cooks, otherwise those eating it will fall sick. This custom, I found, applies to the native-made salt (*chikeve*), but not necessarily to salt bought from Europeans (*makeve*). During the pregnancy of his wife the husband will not commit adultery, otherwise she would die. In the event of the wife dying the husband is often accused of having committed adultery. 841 843 837

Love potions are given and taken. 832

Mlotsha: a woman takes a little *mapira* (millet) in grains and puts on the calico she wears as a diaper both during and without catamenia, till the grain is rotten;

4: Stahnus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao FT7
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M 832 this is then added to a brew of new beer and given to her husband to drink. He will then think of and love only herself. This is said to have caused the death of some husbands.

Mpesi: medicine made and drunk by a woman to make her beloved by a certain man.

M 837 844 [847] At confinement a woman has to answer whether she has ever committed adultery; if she denies an adultery she may die, if she owns up and gives the name of the man this can be remedied. Adultery on the part of the father or mother is said to be a cause of abortion.

M 837 A man going away from his village for several months and leaving his wife behind and wishing her to remain faithful puts a knife into its sheath and hangs it in the hut, telling his brother. It is then believed that should anyone commit adultery with his wife separation after the coitus is impossible till some third party comes and pulls the knife from its sheath, and in doing so becomes a witness of the adultery.

M 833 [M 242] [815] [522] Eating of eggs is believed to cause impotence in children or adults. Much fat eaten is said to have the same effect. It is believed that if a hare run up against the leg of a man while going through the forest he will become impotent. It is for this reason that dung of the hare is put at the door of a man to make fun of him as impotent. This is a trick played by *Adzukulu*.

M Y. 837 263 755 If a woman who has committed adultery puts salt into the food while cooking, of which her husband will partake, will thereby cause his death. At the present time among the Yao-Mallanja community a woman always calls one of the children to do it—this speaks for itself. A woman, after connection with her husband, putting salt in food, may cause illness among any children partaking of the food.

M 837 If a man accuse his wife of adultery and she denies it, he will procure medicine and place it under her pillow, then in the middle of the night she will wake her husband and tell him the name of her lover.

M 787 777 *Mpingu* = ill omen. A journey would always be stopped if on setting out one of the party die; or should they meet an ant-eater or black snake. It used to be considered a sign of bad luck if one of them knocked the toes against a stone; now if blood flows from the big toe they say it presages good luck.

Y 852 826 The Yao at the age of sixteen years climbs the *mtumbi* tree, and finding a fruit which is soft makes a hole in the middle and inserts the penis. After this procedure the penis is said to enlarge as the fruit grows; when the size desired is reached the fruit is cut down.

M 827 The native says that every one has a small animal inside the ear, the sounds it makes causes the man to hear. If the animal escapes the man becomes deaf. The animal is said to be ¼-inch long, and wax is said to be its excrement.

M 484 777 Where a man rests on a journey he often puts a stone in the fork of the nearest tree; on many journeys there are regular halting places, often at cross roads, and here every passer-by adds a stone for luck, making quite big heaps.

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Maravi FR4

A man seeing a cloud coming up and wishing to prevent rain, ties a knot in the grass by the side of the path along which he is going. M 789 821

In January, 1907, there was a drought in Fort Johnston district, so the chief Mponda and all his headmen visited a man called *Bimbi* (*bimbi* = prophet), a lesser chief, to ask for rain. They all adjourned to the forest, where *Bimbi* received them outside a hut, and having taken their presents, 50 yards of calico or less, he entered this hut and for a quarter of an hour went through certain incantations. He then appeared again and asked what was wanted. He was asked to give them rain. After again entering the hut and conferring with the spirits he announced rain for a certain day; this was received with clapping of hands, and then everyone lay down prone with the hands by the face and heads towards the hut. The spirits are said to be a male and female snake. God is said to speak to these, these to *Bimbi*, and *Bimbi* to the people. Rain did not fall on the day mentioned, but soon afterwards. [776]

Chisimbo: a man wishing to have medicine to make himself bullet-proof would be told to have coitus with his sister or mother. This is *chisimbo*, after which medicine is given to him. A man known to have done this near Mponda's village was threatened with death by Mponda, and therefore fled. M 789 835

Testicles of sheep, antelopes, etc., are eaten usually with medicine with the idea of gaining sexual power. M 831 825

A chief eats alone to avoid being given poison. M 264

A woman in child will not look at a picture or image lest the child be born with some deformity. Fright is said to cause monstrous births. M 622 M 843 [845]

A woman, when she conceives for the first time, that is, when a newly married girl is pronounced to be *enwinte* by her mother, attends a dance, and her head is shaved in front as far back as the ears. She may not talk to any man except her husband for a month. In older times this restriction extended till the time she was confined. M [302]

A man used never to speak to his mother-in-law till after the birth of his first son. Neither a man nor his wife will eat in company of their mother or father-in-law until after birth of a child. If a man sees his mother-in-law eat he has insulted her and is expected to pay damages. If a man meets his mother-in-law coming along the road and does not recognise her, she will fall down on the ground as a sign, when he will run away. In the same way a father-in-law will signal to his daughter-in-law; the whole idea being that they are unworthy to be noticed till they have proved that they can beget children. M 606 M [689]

CLANS. M V

All Mallanje, Yao, Makololo, and Chikunda tribes are divided into clans, each with a separate name. Children take the clan-name of the mother, and members of the same clan are regarded as brothers and sisters; they are blood relations and may not intermarry. 614

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Maravi FR4

M Y 614 [579] Men of the same clan must help each other. Two men of different clans fighting will be joined each by men of his clan; such two men may be interfered with and stopped fighting by someone of the same clan, but not by others. A fight between men of different clans is a lasting thing, not so a quarrel in the clan.

Every clan has a (king) *Karonga* and a (prince) *Chilembwe*, who is his son. These grades are only found among the Nyanja peoples.

M Y [264] [554] The Karonga may break bones when eating—this is significant of his power to break anything; the Chilembwe may not do so, being without land. Neither may eat while walking. These two are always chiefs.

Clan names.—In Machila men's songs one hears a number of clan names repeated sometimes.

After sneezing people sometimes exclaim, "*Mwana wa . . .*; *Mdzukulu wa . . .*; *Kubala kwa . . .*" (giving name of clan).

A man hearing another say this asks him, "Where do you come from?" He tells him, giving him names of his father and mother, etc.; if he does not know them he gives names of generations before.

The following are a few clan names:—

Achilolo, small rat.
Anamvula, rain.
Arimbiri, puff-adder.
Achikalamba.
Achikulima.
Achingamira, thunder.
Achimaunde, cloud.
Awwali-mgwi, hartebeests.
Anbiwi, pig.
Ang'oni, birds.
Achiwamba, fish.
Achinamamba.

MARRIAGE.

M 584 A man seeing a girl he would like to marry deputes his brother to go to the brother of the girl, who then calls the girl's maternal uncle, and he speaks to the mother on the subject. The mother consults the girl; if she refuse, nothing further is done. If she consents, the man calls his relations to come and be witness of his taking the girl as his wife; they meet in the *Bwalo*. A house is assigned to the M 585 man in the village of the girl and there they go to live.

After six months the mother of the girl prepares beer. The uncles of the young couple, mothers, fathers, sisters, and brothers are invited. The girl's maternal uncle then speaks, addressing himself to the maternal uncle of the husband, saying, "We have called you here to drink beer and to see the house of your brother that you may return when you like. Should anything arise between these two newly married ones in the nature of a dispute, let them come to their respective uncles about the matter."

Then five pots of beer are drunk in the village, two are reserved for the witnesses to drink in the evening, and one for the two fathers and the headman.

4: Stanmus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao
Maravi FR4

There was no dowry and no giving of presents in the old days, the latter practice being an innovation of the last twenty years. The husband thus introduced (= *kulola*) into his wife's village hoes the gardens of her parents. 585 [583]

No enquiry is made as to the potency of the husband by the wife's side, but his friends may ask him if his semen is good. A man who gets no children is *chembuwila*. [833]

It used to be the custom when a marriage took place for the mother and father of the girl to cut a log about 15 feet long by 2 feet in diameter and send this by another daughter to the house of the married couple; this was put in the fire, and the unmarried daughter had to go every day and see that it was still burning. If it burned away before the married daughter became *enerinte* the husband might be sent away as useless. If the couple were much attached to each other the husband would buy a pair of goats and give them to the parents of his wife that the goats might produce young. Where sterility persists for three years the prohibitions against a man speaking to his mother-in-law, etc., are allowed to lapse. 842 585 [606]

After the first coitus the wife wipes up some of the semen on to a piece of white cloth; this in the morning is given for inspection by the girl's instructor, the woman who gave her advice on the occasion of her first menstruation. [833]

The number of wives may be from one or two to six or ten for an ordinary man; for a chief, thirty or forty. A man may not marry any member of his wife's family, nor of the same clan name, nor two sisters, nor a deceased wife's sister. Marriage between people of different tribes did not take place till after the overrunning of one by the other, save in case of slaves and wives by capture. A rich man takes his wives to live with him in his own village, as does a chief. The first wife is the head wife, she does no cleaning nor cooking; a man may change his head wife, but must sleep equally with each wife, otherwise she may bring a case against him; each wife lives in a separate house, occasionally in a room of a large one. Slave wives corresponded to concubines. No polyandry. 595 [582]

At the present time marriage is regarded lightly, adultery is common, and divorce in consequence the same. In former days a man wishing to be rid of his wife ceased to visit her for one month, three months, or six months. Her uncle would then come to the husband and ask the meaning of his behaviour. He would explain that he no longer wished to live with the woman, and gave to the uncle an arrow (*mabei*), calico so given may still be called *mabei*; should the woman marry again she gives the arrow to her second husband. A man deserted by his wife, should there be children, makes a case to have custody of them. 586 [837]

As children, boys and girls play at being man and wife, building little houses in the bush and sleeping together; this is known as *masanje*. Promiscuous sexual intercourse among girls before puberty is common; in this way the vagina is usually dilated and no operation for so doing is performed. A virgin on her marriage is "broken" by a friend of the bridegroom before the latter cohabits with her. The friend is said "to eat new things"—*Kudia ujelwa*. 836 857 [585]

M 831 514 A boy having an emission in the night will take his soiled cloth to the headman of the village. He says, if the stain be black, that the boy must not marry as he will be impotent. A man who has no erection when evacuating the bowels thinks himself ill, and will seek medicine.

M 841 145 [881] Menstruation usually commences from twelve to fourteen years, when the breasts develop and hair appears on the pubes. I am inclined to put it later than has commonly been stated.[1] The women dance, and instruction is given to the girl who has just arrived at puberty. The Yao no longer hold a dance. Menstruation is said to appear in those who grow fastest at a somewhat earlier age. It is said never to be deferred. Women state that they menstruate once every moon, the flow lasting from three to seven days; if for a longer time it is due to some sickness (menorrhagia is not uncommon). There is no purification after menstruation, but a wife sleeps apart from her husband, *i.e.*, on another bed, and she may not put salt into the food.

M 145 N [582] Boys, I should say, attain puberty at fourteen to fifteen years, when change in the voice takes place. The average age at marriage I should judge at seventeen and fifteen respectively in male and female. This of course only refers to first marriages, and when no hindrances occur. [Among the Angoni a man was not allowed to marry until thirty years of age, a woman twenty.] The child-bearing period lasts about twenty years.

M 842 M 163 M 843 It is believed that the child is formed only from what the man introduces into the woman—the semen. The average number of children in a family is three to five; out of every five, only three survive to adult age. The number of boys born is greater than the number of girls. Pregnancy in a woman is said to be known by the head woman, by her becoming paler. After pregnancy is detected, husband and wife live together, and coitus continues to take place, for some time; with some only for the first six weeks.

M 844 Labour takes place either in the woman's own house or in that of her mother. She is assisted by a midwife, generally an old woman (not her mother). The patient sits on the floor of the hut or an old mat naked, half reclining on the midwife, who kneels down behind her and presses her abdomen with both hands. No internal examination is made, and no assistance is given in cases of difficulty.

M [845] The duration of labour is from one hour to five days, ending in death. Mortality from obstructed labour is high, in contradiction to the ease with which natives are usually said to give birth to children. The umbilical cord is not divided until after the birth of the placenta, and then close to its placental attachment; it is not tied. The whole length is bound to the abdomen of the child by some calico, separating about the seventh day; medicine is then applied to the umbilical scar, consisting of the charred root of a tree mixed with oil.

M [278]

[1] It has been told me that menstruation used not to occur until the age of seventeen, but that of late years, on account of free sexual intercourse before puberty, it is earlier, and therefore the child-bearing age is earlier, sixteen instead of eighteen.

4:Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao
Marav: FR4
Ngoni: FR5

The placenta is buried in a refuse heap,[1] outside whence it is sometimes said to be stolen by *sepkili* (evil spirits) to make medicine. A cual is known, and now is said to be caused by the father continually wearing a hat. It is not kept for any purpose, so far as I know. If a woman die with the child unborn the child is cut out through the abdomen, when the body is in the grave, and the two bodies then buried together, the reason given being that if this is not done many other women would die in the same way. Cæsarian section is never performed; a still-born child is buried in the refuse heap; there is no treatment for still-birth.[2] Miscarriage is said to be common. Post-partum hæmorrhage is said to be one of the frequent causes of death.

After the confinement the whole body is washed, and then a piece of burning wood is placed between the legs of the woman and allowed to smoulder for several hours; this as a means of purification.

The woman stays in the house for a week. She does not resume sexual intercourse with her husband for two years unless she is the only wife, when six months to one year is allowed to elapse, though she cohabits after one or two weeks. During the puerperium there is no special diet. The child is suckled for two to three years by mother, or grandmother if the former die; or if neither are available, by the aunt (maternal). Death of the child may ensue as the result of being suckled by others. Suckling sometimes prolonged for four years, belief holding that thereby pregnancy is prevented.

After miscarriage the woman remains in the house only two days, but has to take medicine for six months, abstaining from sexual intercourse for half that period. Medicine is frequently taken to cause abortion, and may be made by one person to affect another; it is taken when a period is missed. Sterility is said to be common among women. No artificial sterility is produced, but medicine is taken and a cord run round the loins to prevent pregnancy supervening. The new-born child is first washed in ordinary water and then in the water in which a man and his wife have washed after coitus. After this the other women may touch the baby, but not young girls, otherwise it might die. If it die before it has left the house it would be buried by women just as a still-born child, the men refusing to assist. After the cord has separated (one week) the child and mother leave the house and appear in public. The child's head is oiled this day and sometimes medicine made of charcoal is pasted on with some beads as a preventive against injury by the strong sun.[3]

The child is named usually after the maternal uncle's child-name which is given by the uncle (*Nyau*).

[1] In an Angoni village a woman I saw buried the placenta under the floor of the hut, using a hoe to dig with, upon which she first milked her breasts—the first milk. This to prevent abscess in the gland.

[2] With still-birth, women accuse their husbands of having syphilis, and "a child is often born with sores on it."

[3] Medicine called *Nyandabwe*, see p. 320.

4: Stanmus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao
Micrav. FR4

845 Mortality among twins is high, they are always treated alike, and, as children, wear similar clothes. They are not liked very much, but are not killed.
847 Deformed children are killed at birth, being strangled by the women in attend-
732 ance. I have only seen one case of marked congenital deformity (hands and feet in a boy aged seven years). He was allowed to live after some trouble at the mother's intervention.

The umbilical cord is watched and its separation is awaited, the child is laid on
98 its side so that on separating the cord shall not fall on its genitals, as this would
[133] cause the child to become impotent. The cord is buried under the verandah.
This day the child and mother are shaved, a tuft of hair is left over the fontanelle
[751] of the infant (Fig. 7, *g*), on which is applied medicine called *Pfundalow*. This is applied at intervals till the closing of the fontanelle; its action is to prevent the harmful effect of the sun. The child is given its name by a godmother (Chipeta).

The child is steamed as a preventive measure against *measles*. The house
751 among the Nyasa is not replastered and the efforts burnt as with Chipeta. The
846 *mtukuri* (or *mkuti*) belt is applied immediately after the child has been washed. It is made from the *nsaru* (*mkuru*) used by the mother to wipe her husband and herself after the last coitus at the time she found herself with child and was cleansed. It has been preserved by the woman's mother, and is put on the child by
[572] the woman's friend, *i.e.*, the woman who gave her her name as a child (in some cases a man's second wife or his sister may perform this function). This belt is left on the child till it falls off, or is taken off by the child itself. *Mpuse* is medicine placed under the sleeping mat of man and wife when he resumes inhabiting same house.

Four to *five* is said to be the average number of children born to one woman,
163 twelve being the greatest number known. One or two of the family commonly die in infancy. Twin births are said to be common. I have only heard of one triplet birth, mother and all three dying.

847 A woman not wishing children will take medicine if her period is two or three days overdue. Sterility among women is fairly common; a sterile woman is called *chumba*. Medicine is taken for this condition.

833 Among men, want of virile power is complained of frequently, but they expect too much and take many drugs in the hope of improving matters.

848 Child-birth out of wedlock is no cause for reproach; the child belongs to the mother.

The population is increasing. Mortality is high among children owing to
161 wrong feeding: at three months [illegible] is given and at eight months porridge, big
853 lumps being thrust into the infant's mouth; at twelve months green *chimanga* is
165 given. Diarrhœa is a common cause of death, also, from one to three years, malaria. The death rate is highest in the rainy season.

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao Maravi FR4

Death and Burial Ceremonies.

A dying man is attended by his wife or wives, his eldest sister, and sometimes his mother. His head is always supported all through the twenty-four hours by one of his women-folk. I saw the headman, Mtevera, when very ill, supported on the laps of four of his wives. When the women see the man is just dying they go away, and his brother and male friends come in and stay till after he is dead. A woman is tended by her mother or sister, her brother and husband being present till after death. The woman's corpse is prepared for burial by the women. In the case of the man the uncle and brother at death cover the body and then ask some friends to act as *Adzukulu*. There are usually two or four of them. 763 764

They prepare the body by washing in water, straightening the limbs, closing the eye-lids; cloth (or bark cloth) is put round the loins. A woman is covered to the breasts; any bangles, etc., are left on, and oil and beads are put on the hair. The body is then enclosed in a sleeping mat—usually a new one. Thus prepared the deceased lies in his own house for two or three days. The relations are summoned; wailing is commenced immediately after the toilette is complete, the wife and some twenty or thirty women taking part. If the wife is being mourned the husband sits outside the hut. The body is on one side of the room, the wailers sit with extended legs on the other side, the *Adzukulu* playing *Nsimadzi* on four drums. This is continued for three days. If the relations are far away, mourning goes on for one day and then begins again on their arrival. The wailing continues till 10 p.m., and after two hours' interval for rest and sleep, is again continued for one hour, *i.e.*, 12 to 1. It is started by the wife, who is immediately joined by the other mourners; a second interval occurs from 1 to 4 a.m. The wailing ceases about 4 p.m. on the second or third day, so that the burial may take place just before sunset. The grave has been dug in the day-time by the *Adzukulu* at a spot a little way outside the village (*Mudzanje*), indicated by the medicine-man, who has been consulted in secret by the dead man's brother—the spot being encircled by medicine. [584]

The body is carried to the grave by the *Adzukulu*, four of them carrying it, enclosed in the mat, by two poles, one fastened on either side, supported on their shoulders. They are preceded by one of their number carrying three or four pigeons tied by their legs to a stick or a flag, held up aloft and carried. Beer is also, on passing cross roads, poured on the ground on the spot marked x in Fig. 2. Behind the body come the other *Adzukulu* and some men, playing drums and singing; sometimes women sing *Kanyo* followed by the wailers. The singers and wailers remain about fifty yards away from the grave, the rest going to the grave. The two head *Adzukulu* descend into the grave and receive the body from the others—no rope being used to lower it. The grave is 6 feet deep, always east and west, but the head of the corpse may be either end, and the body is turned to one or other side, facing a small hole hollowed out at [182]

Fig. 2.

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Tao Manus: FR4

764 one side, into which the five pigeons and two small pots of beer are put. The women and children first approach and throw earth into the grave: this to prevent them dreaming of the dead. The grave is then filled in with earth and a heap made over it.

In returning from the grave the *Adendole* go first, then the deceased's brethren [783] followed by the rest. There is no singing. They now go to wash at a stream. [515] There is no precedence in washing, but they never on such occasions rub each other's backs. The washing is done as a purification to wash away ideas of the dead. After washing, the *Adendole* take a hoe which has been used at the burial and walks a hundred yards or so and then make a cut in the ground with it, one after the other each man does the same at half yard intervals, followed by all the women. At 5 p.m. the medicine-men visit the graves with a relation of the dead man. Medicine is put on the grave. The medicine-men carries a stick (*Mungu*) 764 or fifty sticks, *Makolwe*; they watch by the grave to see that no *Mphiti* approach. 769 If the medicine-men see *Mphiti*, he asks the other man, "Do you see them?" If he says no, his face is then washed with medicine to make him see, and he answers, "Yes, I see so and so, and so and so." The medicine-man then asks, "Shall I kill them?" If he says yes, they are made to approach by the medicine-man's medicine; then he takes one of his sticks and pushing it up the *Mphiti*'s arm breaks off the end (=*Ku-tukolwe*)—the *Mphiti* then goes away and dies later. Return is made to the house of the deceased where the *Adendole* and relations stay and sleep for ten days, fed by the deceased sister, everyone, friends and relations, having brought food (*chikhuwa*) to give to her on their arrival; any remaining are given to the *Adendole*.

The night men there dance *Gulewenkole* (Vinyau); only the men dance, 535 often naked, the women singing and clapping their hands: no children are allowed 769 to witness the dance. The *Adendole* and members of the deceased's family do not dance; the dead man's father's family, however, may do so [Chiwewa]. This sometimes is danced for two or three nights. The Vinyau, mbila or elephant image, [532] made of grass, is brought in on the third night, that is, the evening after the man is buried.

769 The grave is covered by a grass roof, sometimes enclosed with walls. In the [764] case of a *chief* a big hut is built over it with a fence round; the *roof* is covered with blue calico with holes cut in it, and inside it is hung with *strips* of calico. Pots and baskets, broken, are placed on the mound. After a year white calico is put on the grave.

Should the village be moved a pot belonging to the deceased *chief* is taken 621 with them and buried in the ground in the new village, the mouth being above the 766 surface of the ground: then whenever beer is made in answer to appeals made by 769 the deceased to someone in his dreams, some is put into this pot and calico hung round it on a tree.

In olden times the graves of *Mataunja* chiefs only had a fence round them. When the fence (or roof) has to be repaired the man who is to do the work knocks and, clapping his hands, asks whether he may enter.

4: Stanton D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FTT Yao Marvin 1984

Again, in old days slaves were buried with a chief instead of pigeons, also ivory and guns, pots and pans, and hoes. *Mahenjilo* was probably the last to be buried with slaves. The corpse lay on a number of live male slaves. Under such circumstances, if a slave escaped he was allowed off.

On the death of anyone all fires in the houses are extinguished; fresh fire is then made in the dead man's house and passed from hut to hut. The people collected at the dead man's house may only eat food cooked at that house. Eating of food cooked at the house, into which salt has been put, would cause death.

After the lapse of a month the first beer is made, now we *mutyanto wa'mwe* of *vitimanwe* (*i.e.*, the corpse). It is made from leaves brought by the relatives. Dancing and singing accompany the beer making. The first day's beer is called *mwe wa'mate-wa'kwing'kwa* beer; the second day the *Akwindolo* shave the widow or widower, and then each relatives in turn. The beer itself is not used to shave with among the *Nyanja*. The operation takes place at the door of the dead man's hut. The *Akwindolo* are not shaved. After this ceremony cohabitation between the people of the village is allowed, the pots being shaved. The mother and wife or husband usually wait till after the second beer. A pot of beer is let into the ground at the head of the grave, at the first beer making.

After six months or one year beer is again prepared—the second beer. Everyone comes except *Akwindolo*. There is much dancing and beer drinking, the idea being that the corpse has now disappeared, and he will not be remembered any more. Dancing takes place on the first night, and beer is drunk on the next day. The widow shaves the first day before sunset—the brother of the deceased informs her that she is now free to marry again. The night after being shaved she has to sleep with a man paid by her relations. He is called *Fisi*, because he steals his adultery. No medicine is taken or used for washing in.

For ever after having acted as a *Mkwindolo* a man is expected to behave as a funny man. He may swear, use obscene language, insult people, commit adultery, make obscene overtures to women, pull off their clothes, etc., take chickens, take beer and drink it when he sees it being made in the village where he acted. Where women have acted as *Akwindolo* with the men (instead of a woman) they may take liberties with each other. *Any Mkwindolo* may play practical jokes on the village. An old joke played by him was the putting of hare's dung on a man's doorstep intimating that he was impotent (*A-Nyanja*). At Likoma (*Anyanja*) grass was knotted up in bunches all round a village by *Akwindolo* in joke, again intimating that all the men of the village were impotent.

In the vicinity of Fort Johnston every year each person takes a maize cob at the time when it is ripe for eating and puts it on the grave of the old chief *Mpemba*; this is also done with sorghum always before any of the crop has been taken for food. Maize cobs are also presented at the grave whenever *Likomo* or *Chindindo* is danced.

After the death of a wife the husband mourns five or six months and is then given medicine, after which he may marry again, and without which, should he

M 597 365 [833] marry, his new wife would die. A widow after her period of mourning of two or three months, if sought in marriage, sends her sister to her sister, who arranges for some other man to have coition with the widow, after which she is ready to marry the widow. Without this her second husband would die should she have committed adultery.

M 787 622 After the funeral of a child the headman of the district call the child *Mkwakule*, who buried the late child, and hand him a red blanket and tell him to cover the man who is going to be child. This he does, at the same time hitting him hard on the head. This action is received with shouting from the women, who put ashes on their heads. He then sits surrounded by his brothers and sisters at one end of the open space, the headmen at the other, the leader of whom gives a sermon.

M 766 At Chipoli on the south-west arm of the Lake the corpse is wrapped in a mat and weighted, and then sunk in the lake. The same practice is followed occasionally at Monkey Bay; it is done with the idea of avoiding interference by *Mphiti*.

Lepers and persons dying of small-pox are not buried; the former are thrown in the bush for *Mphiti* to eat, as it is thought the disease is spread if they be buried. A new account of *Mphiti* and dying of women used to be buried on a pile of wood.

M 622 766 [*Note on Angoni.*—In the case of a child the body was kept two days to be sure of death; it was arranged in a sitting posture covered with cloth, the eyes open, a stream was dammed up with stones and then a pyre made below the dam and the body burnt, the waters were then let free to wash away the ashes. The new child stood from morning to afternoon on one foot wrapped in the smoke of the pyre.]

M 195 769 In speaking of the dead the expression, "the late so and so" (= *mwinkwi* . . . .) is used. A man will not refer to children that have died in the presence of his wife, as she will cry either from grief or because it is the custom so to do. Some burial grounds are not approached.

ARTIFICIAL DEFORMATIONS.

M 504 [814] An iron pressure is applied to the head of the child to relieve any deformity which may be present—no deformation is attempted. Various practices of piercing nose, lips, and ears have been and are in vogue.

Piercing of the upper lip and subsequent wearing of a disc which, sometimes a bone (*ulomi*), until the aperture was large enough to admit a much bigger ivory or wooden lip-ring, solid or otherwise (*pelele*), was practised among the *Nyanja* women, but it is going out and is now seen only in the old women. Occasionally the lower lip was pierced in the same way. At the present time among the Mankanga, Tete, and many *Nyasa* women, the left ala nasi is pierced in the same way when a girl is eight years old. When adult a metal or ivory solid ring is worn (*chipini*). A woman piercing the right ala nasi would be laughed at and called a fool.

M [718] V [804]

4:Stanmore D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Tan FT7
Mbarai FR4

The piece in the nose of men is sometimes the end of a small circular lobe originally copied from the coast Swahili whose tribal mark it was, and who did it to prevent enlargement of the aperture.[1] A small perforation of the lobule is commonly seen among the Chipeta-Angoni. These perforations are rare, however, even indiscriminately among various tribes in the country. The former I have seen in a Nyasa—it is also general among the troupes of professional dancing-boys, who wear a cord or a small stick through the ear, usually the right ear. The stick I have seen among Anungu, Nyasa, Mankinga, and Ashawa. No definite markings are worn. The habit of wearing three or four discs in the margin of the ear is only seen among some women (Zanzibar) who have come to live in the country (Fig. 5).

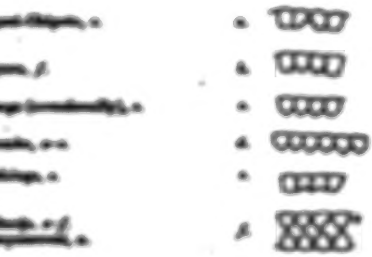

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Dental mutilation was, and is to some extent, still of tribal significance, though mostly performed for appearance (Fig. 4). Actual extraction is but very seldom seen now.

A prominent breast is admired among the natives, and to ensure this a cord is tied round the chest by girls at the upper margin of the gland, with the idea of making it project. I am inclined to think it has the opposite effect. No attempts are made to elongate the breasts, they become very pendulous without any artificial aid.

Amputation of fingers and ears, mutilation, etc., have in the past only been practised as punishment.

Young girls by constant pulling on the labia minora and enclosed clitoris try to cause elongation, as such is said to be admired.

Elsewhere I have referred to the penis of natives, which I consider to be characteristic in its hardness. This is said to be caused by the "young men" purposely injuring the organ by beating it so that it never returns to normal softness when not erected.

Circumcision.—Circumcision is practised by both races of all the tribes. In former times the designs had a certain significance, such as to indicate the tribe, to signify that the wearer had been initiated, to commemorate certain events, and so

[1] This is interesting, inasmuch as the ears are pierced in England, commonly with the belief that it prevents bad eyesight.

4: Stanner D-5 (ca. 1909)1918 FT7 Tso
Aprav. FR4

304 birth; now they are in most cases mere decoration, except among the Awemba, Angoni, and Ilakwa, where the tribal significance is still maintained (Fig. 6). It is still a fairly common practice amongst women to mark events of importance by an addition to the tats, usually on the thighs and abdomen; and individuals may be seen with every available inch of skin covered with designs. A shooting and hunting tats is common amongst older men.

There are two varieties: (1) the common scar tattoo, produced by making incisions through the skin and rubbing in preparations of charcoal which leaves a more or less raised scar darker than the surrounding skin. (Such marks in an albino have a blue colour.)

[177] (2) Marks produced by use of the cashew tree which has been imported from Zanzibar. After its application to the skin the superficial layers peel off, leaving pink skin which then gradually darkens till it is darker than the surrounding skin, but with no scar. These marks are most commonly seen on girls and young women, and some small boys on the face, also sometimes as rows of spots ¼ inch in diameter across the whole of the upper part of the chest.

There is no history of the introduction of cicatrization, both sexes appear always to have been marked—the tribal tatus were in the old days made, in the case of a boy, usually at the age of about ten years by the medicine-man. Now the operation is performed by anyone, it seems, at any time, and any marks are taken. It is rather a fashion, and a man or woman without marks is said to look ugly. Tats designs are usually quite symmetrical, no substances (pigments) being used other than charcoal, the scars being in the form of dots, short or long lines, half circles or lozenges (Fig. 14).

FIG. 6.

ORNAMENTS.

301 There do not appear to be any special ornaments indicating station in life, or connected with dances (q.v.).

302 *Head.*—In the ordinary way the hair is kept fairly short, being cut when necessary and periodically shaved (Fig. 7). Occasionally one sees very long hair standing out from the head 6 inches or more, as in the case of an Ivenge man at Blantyre. There is now no very definite meaning in fashion in which the head is shaved; in former times (and at the present time to a certain extent) it had tribal significance. Various dandyisms are now seen, such as a shaved parting ending behind in a spiral. The complete shaving of the head accompanies many ceremonies, principally after the interment at a burial ceremony, and at initiation ceremonies.

[184] A man starting on a long journey will often shave the head. On the other hand a wife left while her husband is away for a long time allows the hair to grow and does not wash.

The Angoni men collect little bunches of hair together and bind them with grass so that they stick up all over the head or are contained in the front part of the scalp where, when they get long, they hang down over the face. Fancy hair dressing is never seen among the women except those recently from the west. There is no particular sex difference in methods of "doing the hair"; the children is not shaved after marriage and no wigs are used, neither are any colours used to adorn the hair. Ornaments worn in the hair are few, consistently some bead-work by young girls or a feather by boys, and more especially Angoni. Combs, ornamented with bead-work are found.

Fig. 1.

(a) Chipeta, "Double"; (b) Angoni ♂; (c) Atonga ♀; (d) Bisharp and Wankonde ♀ "Bobbin"; (e) A man who has shaved one sides and now shaves neither he is Ben Angoni; (f) Bearded shaving; (g) Wankonde child.

The removal of hair on the face is very variable, and the treatment of it equally so. As a rule there is little, if any. Epilation is commonly practised, and a strong growth of hair is shaved. On the other hand beards, etc., of considerable size are sometimes, and these are usually not trimmed. The longest beard I measured was 28 cm. from the chin to tip. It was kept rolled up.

The Atonga seem to have more hair on face than other tribes, their somewhat resembling those seen on Japanese.

Body—Beads are worn by nearly every woman, either at the neck or round the wrist or the waist.

A string of large blue beads is most commonly worn round the neck by girls and women after Angoni. An initiation ceremonies ropes of small blue beads are sometimes worn. These were round the body are single strings of beads of various kinds. They are not always worn, and the wearing I think is discontinued during menstruation.

Bead aprons are found. Beads round wrists and ankles are worn in simple strings. Dancing boys sometimes wear a bead necklace, otherwise beads are never seen on males.

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P. 501 Necklaces, worn commonly by children, are made of a number of little square pieces of hippo ivory strung together, ornamented with geometrical designs.

P. 789 Medicine is often carried in a little pocket suspended round the neck, as also charms of various kinds. The medicine may be some powdered charred roots or little twigs, leaves, etc., of some tree; these are sometimes now wrapped up in a piece of paper on which is written some extract from the Koran (among Mahommedan Yao); this is then worn in a little piece of calico and adorned with beads and suspended round the neck with a string.

Charms take various forms. Small pieces of wood or, to guard against attack by lion, teeth are worn. Armlets of the same kind are worn against sickness, and others are worn by Angoni, made of beads to which knives are attached. Bracelets of ivory, plaited grass and elephant tail hairs are also worn.

P. 501 Metal and wirework bracelets are commonly worn by Angoni, also twisted wire finger rings and rings of lead and ivory. Heavy brass ankle rings and spiral brass leg and arm rings 6 inches and 8 inches wide are worn by some of the women (Atonga).

P. 501 Bracelets cut from the nail of the elephant's foot are worn by Awemba hunters, and little finger rings cut from the ends of the ant-eater are worn as medicine against fever by hunters.

Belts made of twisted copper wire are worn round the waists by Wankonde.

P. 502 The use of pigments applied to the body is very limited. I have seen stripes of clown, white and red, on the faces of young women, boys and dancers, generally after some ceremony. The significance I do not know. Pigments are now obtained from Indian traders, and I do not know how old the custom is. There is no beautification of face, body, nails, and eyes by pigments. The only application made to the skin is castor oil ground-nut oils to keep it soft—no scents are used.

P. [P18] Clothing.

P. 2 V. N. 291 [255] Among tribes of Nyasaland the amount of clothing worn varies very considerably from nothing to European garments.

Of the large majority, however, including Mahenje people, Yao and Angoni, one may speak generally.

The young children commonly run about naked, or have a strip of cloth covering the pudenda, supported by a string round the waist.

P. 2 V. N. [255] Among the adult population the amount of clothing depends largely on the affluence of the individual, and those who cannot afford much have little clothing. A man wears a strip of calico supported in front and behind by a string round the waist, a woman a piece of calico 10 inches wide reaching from the middle of the thighs to the ankles.

Of the more prosperous, the men wear calico from a little below the knee to the waist, carefully wrapped round the body, and kept in position by some kind of belt; sometimes it is folded across the upper part of the chest or sometimes crossed over in front and two ends tied behind the neck.

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Women wear their cloth folded across the upper level of the breasts from right to left. Men and women often have two cloths, one over the loins, only the second fastening over the chest.

A menstruating woman also wears a small piece of native corresponding to a diaper supported by string round the waist.[1] The same thing is worn after childbirth for six months. Angoni women always wear them.

The Angoni, Chipeta wear their cloth (*ungo-fukira*, carrying a fold of cloth on the left arm. An Angoni *chief* wears three such, blue, white and coloured, the first outside, the last next to the skin.

The material used is now practically everywhere European-made cotton, formerly bark cloth only was used by Nyanja, though weaving had been accomplished by Angoni, whose skins were and are used as articles of clothing.

There is nothing to distinguish men of various grades, etc. Fashion at the present time is very capricious—some patterned cloth being much worn one month will have no sale a month later; this is true both of men and of women.

There is no class uniform, and no "costumes" are worn save in dancing (p.c.).

Men are now seen wearing a piece of native twisted up on the head in turban form, a custom lately introduced from the coast—the only indigenous head-gear in the using shell-cap worn by Angoni widows.

Under the heading of dress must be included the head spoons worn by Yao and Angoni. Among the former the use of this garment is restricted to the women, who in the home sometimes wear nothing else; among the Angoni the children often have them and no other clothing.

Sandals are sometimes made of skin and fastened on the foot with a thong when crossing thorny country.

Among Angoni the swords only used to be worn; this is a small hand-sword, from which was hollowed out and worn just covering the glans penis.

Food, etc.

The staple food throughout the country is either native or rice, the latter only at various spots on the lake shore where it can be grown. Two food meals per diem are taken, at 9 or 10 a.m. and again at 4 p.m.; each consists of native porridge made from native flour or rice flour or boiled rice with some relish (*ndiwo*) to which the nsi is added. At odd times the native will eat anything that opportunity offers—a piece of sugarcane root, a boiled sweet potato, a roasted native nut, etc.

The native is made by *stirring flour (ufa) into boiling water till a stiff porridge is formed*; this is kept cooking for five minutes and then scraped out with a wooden

[1] Diaper or article: a square heavy flat of skin; they are never put away in baskets but always hung up; a woman changes every time she bathes, using two or three per diem; they may be given to a female child to wear, but are then not worn again by a woman.

4: Stanford D-S (ca. 1995)1910 FT7 Tao FT7
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spoon into a clean shallow basket or on to a plate. The relish or relish, consisting of vegetables such as beans or a kind of spinach, a little fish or chicken, is cooked in a separate pot, and round them those about to eat collect. Washing their left hands in water, they take some of the porridge and making a sausage shape of it, dip it in the relish and then some is into their mouths.

Salt was obtained either from natural deposits or from "salt earth" on a stream bank near Fort Johnston, or from the ashes of burnt fungi roots or vambodos; by a method of percolation through porous pots.

The native rather dislikes between meals—water. After eating he may wash his mouth out and clean his teeth, using the frayed end of a piece of wood as a brush.

Alcohol.—With the exception of the people living on the lower river, who drink fermented palm juice, beer is the common alcoholic beverage. Beer is made from maize (chimanga) or millet (mapira); the soup of the latter is very largely used for beer making; it makes the best beer and is certainly preferred by Angoni.

Grout is prepared by boiling flour with water; after an hour leaves (chimoto) is added fermentation sets in; and it may be drunk the next day; it is then sweet beer, with or mphombwe. On the second day it is again boiled and is allowed to cool; the third day more leaves is added (chimoto); the fourth day fresh grout is made, and the contents of the original pot, now called ngwiro, is added to it, making two pots of beer. It may be drunk the same day which has or allowed to cool and taken on the second day.

Food-staffs.

1. Maize (chimanga), millet (mapira, manyera), rice (mpunga).
2. Cassava—sweet potato.
3. Beans and peas of many varieties.
4. Pumpkins, cucumbers, melons (dzungu, mkoko, chibwendi).
5. Many kinds of leaves growing wild—also pumpkin leaves, of which a kind of spinach is made.
6. Bananas (yours plant), sugar cane and fruits are cooked.
7. White ants, locusts, honey.
8. Members of small animals are eaten by Chipeta, Angoni, etc. With the spread of Mohammedanism this is going out; rats, mice, lizards, snakes, etc. Chipeta will eat dog, and I once saw one eat baboon. Frogs, shell-fish, snakes, crocodiles, otters, vultures, eagles, are never eaten.
9. Fish (nsomba), fresh or dried, in much variety, thirteen varieties being enumerated.
10. Chickens, ducks, wild birds that they may snare.

* Spirits used to be made by distilling from beer and banana and palm juice by means of a pot and a gun barrel.

4: Stanner D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao FT7
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Gugu, the residue after pounding maize, is eaten by the women. No oils are used in cooking, but of fat and suet any native is very fond. Meat may be dried and smoked if in large quantity: flesh, fish and fowl is commonly roasted on spits; small pieces of chicken may be made into a kind of stew with beans and eaten as the relish. When on a journey the fire is commonly made against a tree. The cooking vessels are cleaned before use, not after. The fried fish eaten is often partly decomposed, and meat which is very high, even with maggots, is cooked and eaten, maggots and all.

Taboo.—Bushbuck is not eaten by many natives, as they say it feeds near graveyards. Fowls are not eaten by some, as this diet causes them to vomit; a snake-catcher never eats vegetables, and at the same time puts medicine on his hands. Many abstain from the flesh of certain animals as certain skin diseases are said to be caused thereby; all such diseases bear the name *wakwerenga*.

A man who loses a relation by drowning takes an oath that he will never again eat fish, and never drink water from such lake, river, etc. Here the idea is of course simply to avoid eating part of the relation.

A Nyanja and Machinga will not eat the flesh of the hippopotamus, because on the body they say there are the marks of a string round the loins and of a mat on his back, adding that long ago he was a man. Animals of prey would never under any circumstances be eaten. Milk used never to be drunk by an adult, as it was said to cause a man to become as a child. A man would not dare to drink woman's milk as it was said he would surely die of dysentery.

Tobacco, *etc.*—The smoking of tobacco was a custom introduced from the coast. Chewing was general among Machinga and Yao men and women, while the Angoni and Mchanja snuffed. With the tobacco a little lime, made by burning shells, was taken in the mouth. Giddiness and sleepy sensations were experienced after chewing. The Nyasa and Awisa smoke a kalabe-kalabe, the water vessel being a large sausage-shaped gourd with a reed stem supporting a large bowl of calabash wood, sometimes very nicely carved (Plate XXVII, *Figs.* 5 and 7). The Anyanja smoke a pipe with the bowl made of clay and the stem of bamboo (Plate XXVII, *Fig.* 6); these are made by the women. Tobacco is grown in nearly every village, a large-leaved rather coarse variety; it is sun-dried and rolled up into hollow rings 6 inches in diameter and 3 inches broad. For snuff (*Kubia mwenzi*) the sun-dried tobacco is further dried over a fire on a pan, when cold it is ground on a stone with a smaller stone by the women, and with it is mixed some ashes of the *mpoza* fig-tree.

At Hlanjye I obtained a water-pipe made of bamboo stem; this was the water reservoir; a stem of reed supports a little clay bowl. The mouth is placed over the upper end of the bamboo. Hlang (*cannabis indica*) is smoked in a pipe of this kind.

AGRICULTURE.

The people live by cultivating the soil. Both sexes help in hoeing and planting, the collecting of the crops being mostly done by women. The hoe is the

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only implement used. Sowing is done after the first rains, about November; the harvest takes place in May to July. Gardens are at varying distances from the villages, depending partly on the soil becoming exhausted after years of cultivation. Boundaries are marked by leaving a line of uncultivated ground, sowing a line of a different crop, tying knots in the young crops at intervals, ditches, etc. In starting a new garden, woodland is often taken; the trees are cut down, leaving stumps 3 feet high; the undergrowth is cleared away and burnt, the ashes distributed over the land, which is then hoed, really very superficially; the earth is then made up into little heaps with a central hole in each, after the first rains four or five grains of the cereal (maize, millet) are dropped in each and covered with earth; as the young shoots grow the hole is more and more filled in.

FIG. 6.

With the cereal is planted the seed of peas, beans, pumpkins, the former on coming up then grow up the maize stalks. The seed is last year's product and not specially selected.

Depredations among crops made by elephant, hippopotamus, large antelope (eland and kudu), pigs and baboons, vary in extent in different districts. Little grass huts are built, raised above the ground like a pile-dwelling, in which watchers are stationed. Fences, sometimes extending for miles, are built. The gardens of the chief are hoed by his slaves or the people of the village. Maize is collected in the cob, and after the outer coverings have been removed is stored; so is the shelled, millet in the head; beans and peas are stored in baskets. Medicine is put on the ground to ensure a good crop, and a piece of stick is sometimes hung up for good luck.

CATTLE, ETC.

The keeping of cattle is practically restricted to certain tribes living in districts free from tsetse-fly (Angoni, Wankonde); among these people wealth is reckoned by cattle. The milk is little used; the flesh is eaten only when an animal dies. Marks of ownership are made by cutting the ears (Fig. 6). Cattle are kept in open kraals by Angoni, in a compartment of their houses by Wankonde; they are tended by the small boys as a rule. Goats and sheep are kept all over the country. Castration of cattle is a recognized practice (*hafele*).

Angoni make their shields from cattle skins; their spear handles are covered with goat hair (*beard*); hair anklets and armlets in dancing costume are made from goat hair. Skins are used as drum to a small extent.

HUNTING.

A man intimates to the community around that he is making a hunt by slashing a boy of about ten years in leaves, who precedes him and the men from his own village through adjacent villages; at each village the kid has to lie down and

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao FT7 Marovi FR4

is beaten with branches, or leaves are thrown at him. Men join from all the villages. Next day they set out in line towards the nets they have set, the inaugurator of the hunt in the middle. Game is driven into the nets by the advancing line of men and their dogs and is speared. On the other side of the nets are men set as watchers, who would let down the net at the approach of any big antelope, who would otherwise break it. All the game killed is taken back to the boy clad in the leaves, who watches it in the background. At the end of the hunt (*saimba*) the inaugurator of the hunt chooses his portion after it has all been divided up, and gets a hind leg of every beast killed by the others. The net used is 200 to 400 yards long. Hunting is done in the early morning during the month of July.

The Mafanja and Chipeta did not hunt elephant, but dog game pits. They used bows and arrows. The Yao, Machinga and Amangoche, possessing guns in the old days, used to make big hunting parties, staying away two and three months and killing elephant and other game. The hunter inaugurating the hunt had the first shot at an elephant, and all ivory was his till sold at the coast, when the followers got their proportion of calico brought back. The skins and horns were divided. The flesh was cut into strips and dried over wood fires. The chief has choice of the biggest tusk on the return of the party to the village. Yao elephant were shot in the vicinity of the village, the chief claimed the ground tusk, *i.e.*, the tusk on the side on which the elephant dropped. Before starting on such a hunt the *nfu* would be cast to see that they would have good luck. All those taking part would have "medicine" rubbed into little incisions cut on arms, shoulders, and sometimes on body. *Mankwala* (medicine) was also tied on the guns; it consisted sometimes of a number of pieces of wood threaded on a string, or I have seen another made of sun-dried animals' blood and charcoal. Should the wife of anyone of the expedition commit adultery her husband might get killed. A man going to hunt will never have intercourse with his wife the night before, otherwise he would be unsuccessful.

Bows and arrows are used, the bows being sometimes about 5 to 6 feet long. The "Mediterranean release" is employed, and the arrow rests against the left side of the bow. Three kinds of arrows are carried in the same quiver (*pute*): *nguluwe*, a blunt arrow for stunning birds; *nchoto*, with a large iron blade; and *nguluwe*, with a small poisoned head.

The Mafanja use a long-handled, short-bladed spear, usually thrown at a short distance (a few yards), when it is grasped in the hand about the middle. From a further distance (thirty yards) it may be pitched by holding at the extreme end. Traps of various kinds, made of a bent sapling and noose, are commonly used. Dogs are used in hunting to drive, to run down small game and to keep the bigger animals at bay. The only arrow poison used is *chondo*, made from euphorbia juice and other things; it is used in warfare and elephant hunting. The flesh of animals killed with *chondo* is not considered safe to eat. Children from twelve years of age accompany their fathers hunting.

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao Maravi FR4

FISHING.

226 *Khoka.*—A drag net 50 yards long, in the river 8 feet deep, in the lake 4 feet deep.

227 *Kombe.*—A net set across a shallow river, 20 to 50 yards long, 6 feet wide.

Chilepe.—A funnel-shaped net 5 feet in diameter at open end; it is held by two men, who meet a shoal of the small snipe (like whitebait) as they come in any given direction. Floats for the nets are made of *pumbwe* tree pith or *mpopo*; stones are used as sinkers.

Mono.—A "lobster-pot" fish trap of two sizes used in rivers and on the lake shore; the bait consisted of *pepe* (maize-chaff).

Fish-spearing.—Is practised by torchlight, as the fish try to go up small streams when the rain flood throws near the rocks; fish are also sometimes speared in Lake Nyasa. The fish spear is called *chombe*, and has a single point.

Hooks.—Hooks are baited with fish or worms; they are tied to a large reed and left all night.

[278] *Poison.*—The roots and leaves of a shrub called *ombwe*, pounded in a mortar in water and thrown into a river, cause the fish to come up to the surface stunned; *nkhadzi* (euphorbia) is also used. Children of nine and ten years go fishing. Women do not fish.

FIRE.

312 The simple fire drill is the only means of making fire; wood is the only fuel used (and charcoal for smelting). There are no sacred or religious fires, and no fire god. Fire is carried from hut to hut in the form of a smouldering log, and blown into flame with the breath. After the death of anyone in the village all fires are extinguished, fresh fire is made outside the dead man's house to cook for all, and from this fire is taken to every hut.

HABITATIONS.

342 Houses are built of supporting poles, the roof frame-work of bamboo, the roof of thatched grass, and the sides of the house of reeds or *chewanga* stalks; the

FIG. 8.

4: Stanmus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao FT7
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whole frame-work is secured by bark lashings, the walls, inside and out, and the floor are plastered with mud from an ant-hill, mixed with a little cow dung, if possible. In some houses the walls do not reach up to the roof, leaving a space through which smoke may escape and air enter.

At Chipoli and at Mangoche houses were built on piles and in trees respectively to avoid lions. A house is occupied by a man and his wife and any young children; no other relations are allowed to sleep there. The children, when aged about five years, go to live with the maternal grandmother till their first *ingago*; there may be from a dozen or more children living with the grandmother, who feeds them and sometimes also provides clothing. Such children are said not to have coitus with each other as they are relations. After *ingago* if not married the girls go to live again at their grandmother's house, the boys to the *nyumba ya bandu*, four to ten or more using such a house as a dormitory. They get their food from the grandmother, visit her and may use her utensils, sit on her bed, but never so with their mother.

In houses where there are partitions or verandah rooms these smaller rooms are often used as bed chambers, and always as store rooms for baskets, pots, hoes, etc. The native usually sleeps on a mat laid on the ground; in some cases the ground is raised into a kind of dais (Angoni and at Mangoche). Among Yao and many Matonga, wooden beds are now used, introduced from the coast. The Angoni make wooden stools from conveniently shaped branches (Fig. 10). The native has so few belongings that he makes nothing in the way of shelves, nor hooks for hangings. Clothes are stored in baskets. The hut is kept swept and all refuse deposited on a dust heap near the hut.

Fig. 10.

The doorway is closed by a door made of reeds and grass bound together. This is placed against the inside of the doorway, and a pole dropped in between two sets of supports. In the day time the door often rests against a fifth support. There are no windows and the smoke finds its way out through the roof thatch. A guest house (*boma*) with fence (*chimbundi*) round it used to be found in villages, but does not exist any longer.

There are no ceremonies connected with the building of a house or the preparation of the materials for its construction. There are no household gods. The fire must be in the middle of the hut, and on one side is the bed. Any people visiting the hut must remain on the opposite side of the fire, except "friends," and *no no account must children go round to the other side, because under the bed* the women's diapers are laid to dry. The fire must not be touched by the male children, but is tended by the girls. The fire is generally kept burning continuously, but it is of no consequence if it goes out—a burning brand is brought from a neighbouring hut. At the death of a headman or other person in the village all fires are extinguished, fresh fire is then made in the dead man's house and from this passed from hut to hut. There is only one method of making fire, that is, the fire stick.

4: Stanesus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao : ...
Maravi FR4
Ngoni FR5

M 251 343 Near the house, which is often surrounded by a fence, either within it or outside, is the grain store or shelter, a cylindrical structure made like a hurdle, set on a platform below, supported on posts 2 feet above the ground. Sometimes the whole, sometimes only the lower part, is mudded over. It is covered by a thatched roof, which can be removed at will. At one point at the base there is commonly a hole to allow of taking out the *chimanga* (maize) cobs as they are required. These shelves vary in size, average being 6 feet about the platform and diameter 4 feet. There is often also a pigeon house, made of the cylinder of bark removed from a tree; this is put in a tree or supported on poles, and the ends partly closed with crossed sticks, near it will be a broken pot supported on a forked stick, kept filled with water for the birds to drink. Any sheep, goats or cattle are kept in the *khola* or kraal made of trees, and often pretty strong, and covered with thorny branches to withstand the visits of leopards, etc.

M 352 354 The household furniture consists of little. Near the middle of the hut is the fire, with some big stones on which to set cooking pots; sleeping mats either set out or rolled up; two or three cooking pots and baskets of various sizes; a water pot and gourd bails.

POTTERY.

M 323 415 There is no tradition whence pottery making was introduced. No potter's wheel or mould is used, no tools are used save a knife to score patterns on the pots. The material employed is a kind of clay, to which is added some cattle dung (I presume to get the small pieces of grass). A pot is made at one sitting, building it up from the open mouth. It is done by women, who are potters by trade. Before baking, the pot is dried in the sun, then rubbed over with green leaves, which prevents cracking. Baking is performed by making a fire below and all round the pot as it stands open end downwards. Among Angoni and Atonga some pots are "painted" with plumbago (*chiwere*), the whole with *tembwe*, a red earth, outside of sun, before burning. The decoration consists only in a few waved lines near the rank. No pottery figures are made, and no special funereal pots; the deceased's own pots are broken and placed over his grave.

N [325]

FIG. 11.

The following are the different varieties of pottery vessels (Fig. 11):—

Mbaula, a spherical pot for water (*a*).

Mtsuri, a larger pot of similar pattern for beer-making (*c*).

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Mardv: FR4
Ngoni: FR5

Mpika, a beaker-shaped vessel in which the relish is cooked (*d*). M 323
Mkasi, a small *Mpika*, always kept by the side of the fire with warm water in it. With this the woman washes her husband after intercourse; she may use the same to wash herself, but more usually goes to the ordinary washing-place, a flowing stream. 415
Mbale, a dish (*e*).

Of other vessels may be mentioned a jug used by the Wahenga, the gourd ladle of universal use (*b*), and the large wooden mortar, 2 feet 6 inches high, with a pestle 3–4 inches in diameter, employed by all the tribes for pounding grain. M 415

Weaving is practised by the Angoni only. N [286]

Basketwork.—In former days mats were made of split reeds and baskets of bamboo; now the making of mats from palm-leaves has been learnt from coastal natives, and the Chipeta varieties of basket have been copied by other tribes. The following are the principal varieties of basket in use (Fig. 12):— M 285

Nsungwa, a small tray, used for flour, beans, etc. (*a*).
Lidoro, a large tray, used as the *Nsungwa*.
Nthengo, a circular pattern with a square base, *for shewanga* cake (*b*).
Tumanda, a circular pattern with a wooden rim and cover, *for* clothes (*c*).
Chisumbi, a small watertight basket.
Sindi, a large basket, also watertight, for beer.

FIG. 13.

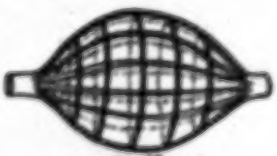

FIG. 12.

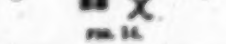

FIG. 14.

There is little ornamentation of the baskets except of the *tumanda*, the head-round edges of which have designs cut and burnt on them. Plaited grass bracelets are made, rough cages for carrying chickens, etc., are made from split bamboo (Fig. 13). A form of basket-work is used to make the window or grain store. Fish traps of very complicated design are also constructed. Gourds of various kinds and sizes take partly the place of baskets.

String.—The bark of the *kwani* tree is cut off and dried in the sun; it is then rolled between the hand and the thigh into string with no other treatment. The bark of the *kingo* tree is used to make string = *chingwe*; this tree is planted for that purpose. Rope is also made from the baobab tree. Plaited palm leaves, *nyambala*, are used for many purposes, and are stretched across the framework of the hut to support the mat. M 283

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Maravi FR4
Ngoni FR5

M 283 [534] String is used to make their fishing nets, necklets, and other beadwork. For bow strings tendo achillus is used, also strips of skin, *striops*. On their musical instruments ordinary string or grass is used to form the strings.

M 412 Needles made of sharpened bamboo were formerly used, the blunt end being chewed into a pulp and then incorporated with chewed end of the string.

M 285 Netting is done in the ordinary way with a simple shuttle.

LEATHER.

M Y 281 The skins of their domestic animals—cattle, sheep, goats—and of antelopes and leopards are prized. No fish skins are used. Skins are removed from the animals by a median ventral incision and other incisions along the inner sides of the legs. The Yao leaves the hair on the skin, some Chipeta remove it. The only treatment a skin gets is scraping and drying in the sun, then rubbing with stones and beating till worked soft. This is done by the men. I have only once seen an ornamented skin, that of a sitatunga from Lake Bangweolo, North-east Rhodesia. Skins are but comparatively little used, occasionally to sit upon. In German territory every *chief* sits on a leopard skin. They are used of course to cover drums, make bags for carrying a supply of grain, and to make bellows for the metalworker. The skins of small animals are used as purses and tobacco pouches. M [622] Among the Angoni and Chipeta they are used as loin-cloths, also to support the baby on its mother's back, and of course to make shields.

DYEING.

M 386 There is practically none. The root of a certain tree is cooked with grasses to give them a black colour, to be used in making mats with patterns; this process has been learned, I think, from the coast.

At Libonia, the root of the red *ntsisi* tree is boiled in water and the decoction used for staining, and, I think, strengthening their fishing nets. Dyes are not used for any part of the body.

PAINTING.

M 392 532 Recently decoration of the outsides of their houses has come into fashion, red earth and lime being used to depict men, cattle, antelope, steamers and bicycles. Often merely geometrical designs are made, I think by Mohammedan coast people.

STONE-WORK.

M 329 No stone implements are used, except stones for grinding snuff, some small pans and mortars. There is a lump of stone at Fort Anderson on which holes have been made for playing the *ishwa* game.

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Marav; FR4

METALLURGY.

Among the natives in Nyasaland, with the exception of copper in the north (Wabenga) and brass in parts near the Zambesi, iron was the only metal worked.

Other metals now used and obtained from traders are, copper, brass, lead, tin, etc. Iron = *chitsulo*; brass = *mpuli*; copper = *mkuwa*; of iron, hoes, axes, knives, spears were made.

At the present time copper- and brass-bound spears are still found at the north end of the lake; copper bracelets and body rings also. The brass wire bracelets elsewhere are made from imported metal. Iron-stone ore in the old days was smelted in a furnace of stones made in the form of a long drain 3 feet long and 1 foot high; in this a mixture of lumps of ore and wood charcoal was put, and single bellows of goats' skins were used to make the draught, which is aided by building a chimney at one end; at the other end a hole is made in the ground to receive the molten metal. A quantity of this is then again melted in a hole in the ground with a charcoal fire about it, and then the metal run into a trench to form a thin bar which is then hammered and worked into a spear, etc. At the present time little smelting of ore is done. There are regular metalworkers, who make knives, etc., using a little hearth with goat-skin bellows, a crucible for copper and brass, etc., tongs, pliers, hammer.

FIG. 13.

An iron plate with an aperture for drawing wire and files are also employed.

Bellows.—A goat's skin with a large opening sewn to two sticks; the leg is then held by these sticks and closed and pressed, the air being driven out through an iron tube inserted through one of the legs of the skin.

BOATS.

The only form of boat in use is the dug-out canoe without outriggers. No skins are used. These are punted along by bamboo poles in the rivers. On the lake paddles are used, never oars. There are no sailing craft. The *mupesa* is the tree used for making canoes, sometimes also the *mbawa*. They are cut out with a small adze, *nsupo*. The *chao* bush is used for caulking, *twenty or thirty of* the stalks being crammed into the hole. *Mpiso*, a ground-creeper, is also used after being pounded. For baling anything is used. At Likoma a vessel like a very small canoe called *ngo* is employed. A kind of raft made from pith-wood and called *nsyambwa* is used to fish from. Occasionally these get washed out into the lake and the fisher has been drowned.

The canoes vary in size from 10 to 80 feet and more, the smaller being used as ferry-boats across a stream; the largest were made to carry slaves across the Lake Nyasa in the old days. In punting a canoe, one or two men work, keeping time. In paddling, any number may work, the largest canoes have twenty men working on either side. Down river near Zambesi the paddlers kneel; on the lake they stand.

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT? Yao FT?
Moravi FR4

M Y 501 When a number are working they take time from the front man, the rear man steering with his ordinary paddle. The passengers sit in the middle, a chief towards the stern. They never lose sight of land even in crossing the widest part of the lake. Stones are now used occasionally as anchors up the lake; grass houses are made to shelter canoes. The smaller canoes are 2 feet to 2½ feet high, the very large ones used to be 4 and 5 feet high; except on the lower river, where canoes have ends similarly shaped, they are made with a bow more pointed than the stern and having a beak (Fig. 18). There is no ornamentation and no figure heads.

M Y [423] In every lake-shore or river-side village or collection of huts will be found one or more canoes; these belong to some one man, others using them paying a fee. At the launching of a new canoe, beer is made and the women dance, and medicine is made for its safe journey.

SWIMMING.

M 481 Not even all lake-shore natives swim, though most do. The art is learnt in childhood and not taught. They are not very fast swimmers, and I do not think could swim very far. They sometimes dive head first and practise staying under water. They swim rather like a dog, both arms coming a little out of water, but not a trudgeon stroke; arms are kept straight. They sometimes swim on the side, but never use the ordinary breast stroke.

GAMES.

M Y 524 Several games are played resembling the game of *oware* introduced from Zanzibar (Manyuela); *oware* is played on a board in which rows of holes have been cut; beans are used as counters.

Mokambwe.—A game found among Anyanja and Machinga; it may be played on a *oware* board, but is often played in holes made in the ground with stones. The Angoni game *chipalapasa* is played in the same way. At Fort Anderson is a heap of stones in which hollows have been made similar to those made in the ground. It is the only piece of stone-work I know in the country. Children and women play knucklebones (*mdodo*).

A man tries in one breath to keep saying *mbiri-biri-biri* . . . . while another makes a pile of stones from another pile of ten, taking one at a time, saying, "To take and put it there makes one," etc. *Mae* play at guessing in which hand an object is hidden, or one out of two men sitting in a house has to guess with whom a certain object is. No forfeits.

Pembembi (=the spider) is cat's cradle.

Fisi (hide and seek); one hiding, five or six seeking.

P [1773] There are no dice games. Cards were introduced from the coast before the advent of Europeans into the country; the games are various and difficult to follow.

P 526 A slip-shod kind of wrestling is practised by Anyanja youths; the Machinga

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1918 FT7 Yao FT7
Marawi FR4

wrestle thus: each man passes his right arm round his opponent's waist and grips his opponent's left wrist. When one has thrown the other, the victor spits on his hand, dips it in the dust and then smears his victim on the forehead. M Y 526

The boys practise long jumping. Small boys make miniature bows and arrows, spears, etc., to play with; in their ways and frolics small children resemble European children exactly. Little girls play at dolls—they cut cucumbers into shape and dress them in calico cloth, carrying them on their backs and making gestures to suckle them. M Y 527 514

The first words spoken by an infant are *ma* (*mami*=mother) and *ta* (*tatata*=father); at two years *mama* and *tata* are words used; a word one learns is *tatata* "No! I don't want to." M Y M2 B-8

The only acting I ever heard of occurred when my own Machila man once acted a village scene, in which a woman (a man dressed up) while pounding corn was mimed and raped by another man. At the right moment her husband and others rushed in and collared the man, who was condemned to have his head cut off; the execution followed. M Y 536

DANCES.

The following is a list of dances; opposite each is the name of the tribe who dance it:— M Y 535

1. *Chindimba*, Yao.	13. *Litiwo*, Yao.
2. *Liwonde*, Yao.	14. *Nyasio*, Yao.
3. *Unalo*, Yao.	15. *Sukwa*, Yao.
4. *Makwati*, Makonde.	16. *Simpiji*, Yao.
5. *Kwaju*, Makonde.	17. *Mtondo*, Yao.
6. *Pimbumbiru*, Makonde.	18. *Chikwada*, Yao.
7. *Mwanru*, Makonde.	19. *Mbarwa*, Yao.
8. *Kwanapuru*, Makonde.	20. *Mangangi*.
9. *Mlando*, Makonde.	21. *Angoni*.
10. *Chikati*.	22. *Chimwiniwini*.
11. *Pingwa*, Makonde.	23. *Mwera*, Makonde and Yao.
12. *Mtoki*, Makonde.	24. *Mangwanda*, Yao.

1. *Chindimba*.—Danced at the *malolo* (mourning ceremony) generally inside the house unless a very large number of people are present. Y 535

All sit round and clap while one after the other men and women get up and dance in a rocking motion from one foot to the other, a small drum held against the chest; in former times a large one lying on the ground used, also to be used—now two or three, standing on legs, are employed. When dancer in the dead man's house, the body lies at one end of the room with the *Akolwalo* sitting by it. On one side are the widows, and on the other the dancers, the dance being sometimes started immediately after death, sometimes the following morning and continued for three days.

This dance is also performed at almost any beer drinking.

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT? Yao FT? Moravi FR 4

Y 535 3. *Likwata.*—A woman's dance (Scott's Dictionary states for men and women). The women dance in a ring, clapping their hands; no drums are played; each woman in turn advances into the middle, where there are usually four at a time. Here they turn round several times from left to right. When she has finished, she rejoins the ring passing in and out the others in the middle, a fresh woman taking A's place and becoming No. 1 (Fig. 14). It is danced at any time after the burial ceremony is completed.

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FIG. 14.

3. *Utale.*—A woman's dance of recent introduction; danced any time. A carpenter from Blantyre staying in Majawa's village *Journey*, 1907 (Lake Nyasa), was heard to be playing *chimtimbo* in a manner different from the usual fashion; his own variation he called *utale*. About the same time a new dance had been invented by the women, and for want of a name they called it *utale*, though danced to the same music as *likwata*, but with *chimtimbo* drums. The dance resembles *likwata* somewhat, but all movements are hopping, preceded by a few steps called *chendemalesi*.

M 535 4. *Mistwesi.*—Danced by men only to the beating of four drums including *chinbanga* and *mbubula*; one man dances at a time, shaking the loins while men and women sit on opposite sides in a row.

It is danced before and after burial ceremonies, and at other times.

Y 535 *Mang'wakala.*—An old Yao dance seen at *Fort Johnston*, 25.8.07. Four or five men assisted in bills made of dried palm-leaves with about twenty leaves on each leg. The four men do a continual kind of shuffling in line, the fifth, the *nyimbi*, from time to time telling the drummers to play quickly, does a very fast *pas seul* with jumpings and kickings, and then announces some idiotic pose.

M 535 5. *Kwaja.*—A woman's dance; the men look on.

6. *Pimbendwa.*—Circumcision dance.

7. *Mlwawa.*—Danced by men and women, sometimes in the funeral procession behind the mourners; big drums are used.

8. *Kwangwa.*—A small basket with stones and pumpkin seeds inside used to mark time with.

9. *Mbenba.*—Drum as in *mangwakala*, may be danced in the funeral procession at the head of the procession. *Mlwawa* following the mourners.

10. *Chilwi.*—Old men's dance started immediately after the death of anyone, and continued for two or three days while the body lies in the house.

11. *Chinyau, Nyau.* ? *Nyau*—"A big dance" held after the death of some person. Only the initiated are allowed to be present, and "women who are foolish and would know nothing." Children also carefully excluded, and intruders guarded against by posting men in the neighbourhood, anyone not being able to give the password was liable to be knocked on the head. Those taking part were said to constitute a society with a secret language, etc., and were only admitted after giving proof of bravery, endurance, etc.

The dance took place always on a dark moonless night usually quite late

4: Stanmus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao
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Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. XL, 1910, Plate XXVI.

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4: Stanmore D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Marsh 1964

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 51, 1921, Plate XXVII.

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[p. 334(8)]

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and the feature of it was the introduction of life-size representations of animals made of bamboo and grass with men inside.

I once saw these at a ceremonial ceremony among the Awisa (p.c.).

12. *Mbala.*—Women only present; danced on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation.

13. *Likiwa.*—Women only, on the occasion of the quickening with first child.

14. *Mjanda.*—Men and women, a quick shuffling step while standing in a circle.

15. *Sukuma.*—The body shaking (shoulders) dance of boys, they walk round in a ring, some fifty of them, the drums in the middle; when the bass drum breaks into a quicker time they all start shaking shoulders and bodies with intervals for two or three steps.

16. *Mangbi.*—Danced in a circle, men and women alternately.

17. *Mkanda.*—A big dance with script rattles.

18. *Chikinda.*—Dancing boys dance.

19. *Mbwaua.*—(1907) men and women; each carries a large reed filled with pebbles—no drums.

20. *Mangenji.*—A reed dance; palm leaf bags filled with pebbles are tied on the legs.

21. *Bangi.*—A pas-de-deux, each man with a rattle and hand-drum; for a few moments they wander round each other picking up the time and tune, and then jump into a very fast step dancing and jumping into the air shaking the rattles.

22. *Chinamalombi.*—A pas-seul by a man carrying a rifle and bow with sashes of small sticks.

23. *Mkanza.*—Danced no longer. At Mpemba's village a big crowd used to dance with skins round the hips and wooden anklets; in their hands they carried live snakes which had been rendered harmless by getting ventilation over their holes before digging them out. Four drums or tin drum-fronts were used. The women all fled away.

Description of Plates.

Plate XXVI.

1. Iron tube with bronze bell.
2. Lead pendant of "medicine."
3. Iron bells.
4. Reed rattle.
5. Medical mystical skin.
6. Tortoise-shell containing "medicine."
7. Tortoise-shell.
8. Horn containing "medicine."
9. Reed rattles.
10. Contents of the bag of an Ekwaua.

Plate XXVII.

1. Gourd rattle, Tao.
2. Drinking gourd.
3. Mabanja.
4. Gourd rattle, Tao.
5. Gourd for making beer.
6. Assegbiga.
7. Axes.